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CONTENTS

Preface	vi
Acknowledgments	xiii
The Authors	xv
I. The Critical Reception of <i>Shostakovich Reconsidered</i>	2
II. Malcolm Hamrick Brown's <i>A Shostakovich Casebook</i>	9
1. 'Complacency, Cover-up, or Incompetence?'	9
2. Flora Litvinova and the 'Smoking Gun'	21
3. 'Les Six Soviétiques' Revisited	29
4. Irina Shostakovich and the Case of 'She Said, He Said'	39
III. The Russian Text of <i>Testimony</i>	56
1. The 'Moscow Typescript': Another Rush to Judgment	56
a. The Original Typescript	57
b. The Heikinheimo Typescript	58
2. The First Inscription	74
3. The Recyclings	77
a. Shostakovich's Memory	79
b. Punctuation	82
c. The Meyerhold Recycling	85
d. Reverse Recycling	89
e. Correction Tape	92
f. Lengths of the Recyclings	93
IV. Corroborating <i>Testimony</i>	97
1. Shostakovich on Figures in His Life	97
a. Anna Akhmatova	97
b. Boris Asafiev	98
c. Mukhtar Ashrafi	100
d. Anton Chekhov and Sonata Form	102
e. Sergey Eisenstein and <i>Ivan the Terrible</i>	103
f. Aleksandr Gauk	104
g. Aleksandr Glazunov	104
h. Dmitry Kabalevsky	105
i. Vladimir Mayakovsky	107
j. Vsevolod Meyerhold and Zinaida Raikh	108
k. Andrey Sakharov	108
l. Igor Stravinsky	109
m. Arturo Toscanini	111
n. Maria Yudina	111
o. Harsh Criticism of Other Composers and Performers	113
p. Dislike of Western Journalists	114

2. Shostakovich on Stalin and Politics	114
a. Ideological Deficiencies	114
b. Stalin after Victory in World War II	115
c. Fear for Himself and His Family	116
3. Shostakovich's Works	117
a. <i>The Nose</i> and Berg's <i>Wozzeck</i>	117
b. Ninth Symphony	119
c. Eleventh Symphony	120
d. Eighth Quartet	126
4. Other Topics	127
a. Astounding Memory	127
b. Sugar-coated Frogs	127
V. Fifteen Alleged Errors in <i>Testimony</i>	129
1. Nos. 1–7: Errors Cited by Henry Orlov	129
a. Shakespeare's <i>Hamlet</i>	130
b. Fifth Symphony and Aleksandr Fadeyev's Diary	130
c. Rimsky-Korsakov's <i>My Musical Life</i>	131
d. Tchaikovsky's <i>Voyevoda</i>	133
e. <i>The Nose</i>	133
f. Events of 1905	134
g. Seventh Symphony	134
2. Nos. 8–10: New Errors Cited by Laurel E. Fay	138
a. Death of a Child	138
b. Death of Pavel Apostolov	140
c. A 'Portrait of Stalin' in the Scherzo of the Tenth Symphony	144
3. Nos. 11–12: Errors About . . .	151
a. <i>Fiddler</i>	151
b. and the Boeuf	152
4. Nos. 13–15: Errors Cited by Other Scholars	154
a. Gogol's 'St. Vladimir Third Grade'	154
b. Soviet National Anthems with Khachaturian	155
c. 'A Maiden's Wish'	158
5. An Error about the Eighth Symphony	159
VI. <i>Testimony's</i> 'Deep Throats'	161
1. Lev Lebedinsky	163
2. Leo Arnshtam	164
VII. The 'Rotten Luck' of	166
'perhaps Soviet Russia's Most Loyal Musical Son'	
1. The 'Rotten Luck/Wrong Folk' Theory of Laurel E. Fay	166
2. The 'Seven Ironic Words of Richard Taruskin'	176

VIII. Richard Taruskin: ‘America’s Most Brilliant Musicologist’, or Just Another ‘Neuvazhai-Koryto’?	181
1. ‘Tabloid Musicology’	185
2. Inconsistencies and Hypocrisy	189
3. ‘Irony’: Intended and Not	200
IX. A Question of Methodology	206
1. ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’	206
2. ‘Don’t Seek, Don’t Find’	210
3. Academic Integrity & Intellectual Honesty	216
Appendices	221
1. A <i>Testimony</i> Timeline	221
2. A Collation of Texts	230
3. Introduction to the 2 nd Russian edition of Volkov’s <i>Shostakovich and Stalin</i> by Maxim and Galina Shostakovich	251
4. ‘ <i>Testimony</i> , I Presume?’ by Per Skans	253
a. A Typescript	253
b. Erik Tawaststjerna	256
5. Attempted Censorship in the American Musicological Society	259
a. Original AMS Abstract	259
b. Revised and Published AMS Abstract	260
c. The ‘ <i>Testimony</i> Affair’: An Answer to the Critics (AMS paper)	261
d. Allan Ho’s Response to David Fanning’s Reply	269
6. International Acclaim for <i>Shostakovich Reconsidered</i>	272
Bibliography	278
1. Books	278
2. Articles	283
3. Papers, Documentaries, Programs, and Manuscripts	297
Index	299

Facsimiles, Photographs, and Tables

Photograph of Marianna Volkov, Allan B. Ho, Dmitry Feofanov, and Solomon Volkov, 14 February 1999, New York	xiv
Photograph of Solomon Volkov and Maxim Shostakovich, 28 May 1997, New York	1
Facsimile of a letter from Mstislav Rostropovich to Solomon Volkov, August 1977	16
Photograph of Mstislav Rostropovich and Solomon Volkov, 1974, Moscow	17
Photograph of Mstislav Rostropovich and Solomon Volkov, 1978, New York	17
Facsimile of Shostakovich's preface to Volkov's <i>Young Composers of Leningrad</i>	25
Frontispiece photograph in <i>Testimony</i>	43
Table 1: Blacked-Out Passages in the Heikinheimo Typescript	64–65
Facsimile of a letter from Dr. Heddy Pross-Weerth, 22 March 2000, Mannheim	69
Facsimile of a letter from Dr. Heddy Pross-Weerth, 16 June 2004, Mannheim	70–71
Table 2: A Comparison of Three Translations	84
Table 3: A Comparison of the Meyerhold Recycling	86–87
Facsimile of 'Iz vospominanii', <i>Sovetskaya Muzyka</i> , 3, 1974, p. 54	87
Facsimile of the Heikinheimo typescript, p. 106	88
Facsimile of the Heikinheimo typescript, p. 326	94
Facsimile of <i>Hymn of the SSSR</i> composed by Aram Khachaturian and Shostakovich	157
Facsimile of the program for the première staging of Veniamin Fleishman's <i>Rothschild's Violin</i>	214
Facsimile of the Heikinheimo typescript, pp. 122–23	236–37
Facsimile of the Heikinheimo typescript, pp. 351–53	247–49
Photograph of Solomon Volkov and Maxim Shostakovich, 30 March 2008, New York	252
Facsimile of the Heikinheimo typescript, p. 213	258

PREFACE

Dmitry Dmitriyevich Shostakovich (1906–1975) was born just over a century ago, and for more than a quarter of that time debate has raged over the man, his memoirs, and his music. Rarely has a composer and his music generated so much interest.¹ Indeed, the so-called ‘Shostakovich Wars’ has far exceeded scholarly arenas and has become something of a cultural phenomenon all its own.

The spark that ignited the ‘Shostakovich Wars’ was the posthumous publication in 1979 of *Testimony*, the composer’s memoirs ‘as related to and edited by Solomon Volkov’. This book revealed a composer strikingly different from his ‘official’ image and explained a number of his key works as veiled protests against Stalin and his regime. The rebuttal of *Testimony* was immediate, first coming from Soviet authorities, who branded the book a forgery that distorted the image of their native son. Next, a young American scholar, Laurel E. Fay, entered the debate over the authenticity and accuracy of the memoirs by noting that the first pages of chapters in *Testimony* — the very pages that bore Shostakovich’s handwritten inscriptions — consisted of previously published material. Fay’s article, ‘Shostakovich versus Volkov: Whose *Testimony*?’ (1980), casted doubt on the authenticity of the memoirs, but some scholars, such as the late Ian MacDonald, and many performers began to recognize a close correlation between the man in the memoirs and the mind behind the music. In *The New Shostakovich* (1990), MacDonald elaborated on leads found in *Testimony* and attempted to place Shostakovich’s music in the context of its time by relating it to the literature, culture, and politics that greatly influenced the composer. Initially, MacDonald accepted Fay’s arguments, finding *Testimony* accurate but not authentic. By 1998, however, increasingly aware of Fay’s selective scholarship as well as the flood of new evidence emerging from post-Soviet Russia that corroborated *Testimony*, MacDonald had revised his opinion and proclaimed the memoirs both accurate *and* authentic.

Elizabeth Wilson’s *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered* (1994) is another publication central to the ‘Shostakovich Wars’. Remarkably, it has been praised and often quoted by both sides of the debate, and is especially valuable for documenting the personal reminiscences of Shostakovich’s friends and colleagues. Although Wilson deliberately steered clear of the *Testimony* debate, her text itself corroborates many aspects of the memoirs, as we amply demonstrated in our earlier book, *Shostakovich Reconsidered* (1998; reprinted 2006). The latter — the first extended, scholarly examination of the controversy surrounding the Shostakovich memoirs — revealed not only that a wealth of evidence existed to corroborate *Testimony*, but that this information had been withheld for nearly twenty years by the leading Russian music scholars in the West, such as Fay, Richard Taruskin, and Malcolm Hamrick Brown. Indeed, Fay’s own

¹ ‘No composer wholly of the twentieth century currently enjoys a higher standing amongst audiences of classical music, at least in the West’. In North America, Shostakovich ranked ninth among the most frequently performed composers of orchestral music of all periods in 2001–2, tenth in 2004–5, sixth in 2005–6, and fifth in 2006–7. The Shostakovich centenary also saw ‘at least seven academic conferences devoted to the composer [. . .], a “Shostakovich on Film” season in London, and symphony and string quartet *integrales* all around the world’ (Michael Mishra, *A Shostakovich Companion*, Praeger Publishers, Westport, CT, 2008, p. ix) (hereafter Mishra).

Shostakovich: A Life (2000), considered by default the standard English-language biography of the composer,² largely ignores *Testimony* and is considerably less illuminating than the other books mentioned above not only with respect to who Shostakovich was and what his music is about, but how the two interrelate and are closely connected. Fay, unlike Wilson, chose not to follow up on the potentially valuable insights of people who knew Shostakovich, claiming that memory is fickle and that ulterior motives may color these testimonies. That is, she refused to speak to the friends and family of her subject before knowing what, if anything, they had to contribute. By limiting these personal and private glimpses of the man, her book relies more heavily on written documents of the Soviet era, when even the composer's letters do not always speak the whole truth — something confirmed by Shostakovich's daughter Galina. As a result, Fay's book often has been criticized for its two-dimensional portrayal of the composer and its rather meager and superficial insights into his music.

The 'Shostakovich Wars' continued into the 21st century with the publication of Brown's *A Shostakovich Casebook* (2004). Brown conceived this collection of articles by Fay, Taruskin, and other 'anti-revisionists' as a response to *Testimony* and to *Shostakovich Reconsidered*. In fact, it ignores most of the evidence presented in the latter and is valuable mainly for documenting the latest views of the critics of *Testimony* and for providing additional, specific, and recent examples of their ongoing selective scholarship and musicological myopia.

The present volume, *The 'Shostakovich Wars'*, is intended as a supplement to the many publications and papers prepared in honor of the composer's centenary, including revised and expanded editions of MacDonald's *The New Shostakovich* and Wilson's *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered* (both 2006). It elaborates on material presented in *Shostakovich Reconsidered* — incorporating more recent sources such as Irina Bobykina's *Dmitry Shostakovich: v pis'makh i dokumentakh* (*Dmitry Shostakovich: in Letters and Documents*) (2000), Michael Ardon's *Memories of Shostakovich: Interviews with the Composer's Children* (2004), Solomon Volkov's *Shostakovich and Stalin* (2004), John Riley's *Shostakovich: A Life in Film* (2005), Michael Mishra's *A Shostakovich Companion* (2008), and Pauline Fairclough and David Fanning's *Cambridge Companion to Shostakovich* (2008) — and features a wealth of new information, including previously unpublished passages of *Testimony*, the first collation of its four principal editions, and translations from Finnish sources that previously have been overlooked because of language. Equally important, it responds in detail to the many questions raised about the memoirs in Brown's *A Shostakovich Casebook* while providing additional corroboration of *Testimony's* accuracy and authenticity.

Another goal of *The 'Shostakovich Wars'* is to further explore the composer's views of various figures in his life as well as the meanings — elucidated by Shostakovich

² Outside of the USA, Krzysztof Meyer's excellent *Dimitri Chostakovitch* is deemed the standard biography of the composer (*cf.* note 28 below). It is available in seven languages, but not in English: French (Fayard, Paris, 1995), German (Gustav Lübke, Bergisch Gladbach, 1996; Atlantis, Schott, Mainz, 1998), Dutch (Uitgeverij Atlas, Amsterdam/Antwerpen, 1997), Spanish (Alianza Música, Madrid, 1998), Russian (DSCH/Kompozitor, St. Petersburg, 1998), Polish (Polskie Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw, 1999), and Japanese (Osaka, 2006).

himself to colleagues, students, friends, and family — and historical context of a number of his landmark works, including the song cycle *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, and the Seventh, Ninth, and Eleventh Symphonies. We also provide new insights into the scherzo of the Tenth Symphony as a ‘portrait of Stalin’. Unlike those scholars who prefer to view Shostakovich’s music principally as some sort of absolute music rather than as a reflection and chronicle of its time, we join leading Russian musicologists and performers who emphasize context and the need to decode Shostakovich’s hidden meanings to fully comprehend and appreciate his works. Unfortunately, understanding of Shostakovich’s art remains elusive, especially in the West. As Joshua Kosman states, although

we encounter [his] music more and more often in the concert hall [. . .] even with the increased exposure, Shostakovich’s utterances still reach us as if through a cloud of evasiveness and misdirection. The oversize rhetoric of his most heated passages can simultaneously feel both powerful and parodic; stretches of pathos are constantly undercut by short, sharp shocks. Shostakovich can make you weep while poking you in the eye.

Kosman goes on to say about the debate ‘over the exact nature of Shostakovich’s relationship with the Stalinist regime’ (a focal issue in the ‘Shostakovich Wars’),

one response to this has been to try to divorce the music from its historical or political context, urging attention to ‘the music itself’. But that impulse, as understandable as it may be, is an evasion. For Soviet composers, there could be no such thing as ‘the music itself’. ‘Formalism’, after all, was the gravest charge that could be brought against any Soviet artist, and if (like Prokofiev) they weren’t particularly interested in politics, politics was certainly interested in them. *Shostakovich’s music was always about the Soviet system, even if that was never all it was about.*³

Finally, *The ‘Shostakovich Wars’* examines the important issue of academic integrity and intellectual honesty — or the lack thereof — in Shostakovich studies. This theme evolved as it became clear that the critics of *Testimony* and of *Shostakovich Reconsidered* do not consider themselves bound by the usual academic rules of free inquiry, open discussion, and consideration of all pertinent evidence. For example, Richard Taruskin, behind the scenes, attempted to censor us from the 1998 national meeting of the American Musicological Society. We recount this episode on pages 195–

³ Joshua Kosman, ‘Symphony Takes on Cryptic Shostakovich at his 100th Birthday’, *San Francisco Chronicle*, 20 March 2006, p. C1; emphasis added. As a recent example, cf. Eric Roseberry’s discussion of Shostakovich’s Tenth Symphony in Pauline Fairclough and David Fanning’s *Cambridge Companion to Shostakovich*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008, pp. 27–30 (hereafter *Cambridge Companion to Shostakovich*). He mentions that this work was ‘composed in the year of Stalin’s death in 1953’, but beyond that gives no consideration to how such a pivotal event in Shostakovich’s life and the history of the Soviet Union could have inspired, influenced, or even been reflected in this music written in the summer and fall after the dictator’s passing on 5 March.

96 below. In addition, David Fanning and others connected with our opposition have seen fit to review *Shostakovich Reconsidered* multiple times, despite their own conflicts of interest.

The present text provides numerous concrete examples of how the very scholars who supposedly were investigating the ‘*Testimony* Affair’ thoroughly and objectively the past thirty years continue to practice selective scholarship. In particular, *A Shostakovich Casebook* and other publications by the ‘anti-revisionists’ are shown to be plagued not only by errors and a lack of objectivity, but by a failure to consider all pertinent evidence. Prime examples include

- Selectively quoting prominent figures, such as Maxim Shostakovich, as supporting their views, while failing to report significant (sometimes nearly diametrical) changes in such early opinions;
- Presenting as evidence a noticeably altered typescript of the Russian text of *Testimony* without considering either its provenance or the nature and significance of these editorial changes. As we detail below, these undermine the conclusions drawn by Laurel Fay;
- Failing to interview eyewitnesses to events while such figures are still alive and, moreover, passing off such failures as an example of proper scholarship;
- Relying on conjecture and innuendo rather than basic fact checking;
- Uncritically accepting materials that were conjured up in the Soviet Ministry of Truth, without any contextual consideration of the time and place of their appearance;
- Merely repeating rather than thoroughly investigating allegations of ‘errors’ in *Testimony*, even though these supposed errors turn out, repeatedly, to be on the mark; and
- Besmirching the memory of the great composer by calling him a ‘wuss’,⁴ accusing him of being a communist toady ‘with a history of collaboration to live down’,⁵ and minimizing his acts of genuine civic courage, such as standing up for beleaguered Jews and others treated unfairly by the authorities.

Such a cornucopia of elementary errors in fact and judgment would be shocking if made by a first-year graduate student in musicology.

It is our contention that scholars have an obligation to look for and report all of the evidence, especially that at odds with their own hypotheses and positions. Therefore,

⁴ Cf. p. 54, note 219.

⁵ Richard Taruskin, ‘Opera and the Dictator’, *The New Republic*, 200/12, 20 March 1989, p. 35 (hereafter Taruskin, ‘Dictator’); also cf. pp. 54–55 below.

it is especially disturbing that the leading figures of Russian music research in the West have chosen to ignore much of the evidence in the ‘Shostakovich Wars’, to misreport it, or even to suppress it. A true scholar should stand, first and foremost, for thorough investigation of an issue, followed by full disclosure of the facts, in proper context, and in timely fashion.

Remarkably, some figures have attempted to dismiss the significance of the ‘Shostakovich Wars’ by characterizing it as ‘absurd’⁶ or as merely a battle between musicologists.⁷ Elizabeth Wilson has even suggested that the ‘Shostakovich Wars’ have ‘held up rather than promoted the advance of Shostakovich scholarship’!⁸ The real importance of this debate is that it seeks to fix the position of Shostakovich in history. That is why, instead of a modest follow-up article summarizing a few new developments in the ‘Shostakovich Wars’, we have written this detailed and scrupulously documented companion to *Shostakovich Reconsidered*. As we reveal in the following pages, this war is nothing less than an attempt to defend scholarly integrity and responsibility while illuminating one of the most intriguing, complicated, and controversial pages in the cultural history of the twentieth-century.⁹

⁶ David Gutman, review of Taruskin’s *The Danger of Music* and *On Russian Music* in *Gramophone*, 86/1042, March 2009, p. 103.

⁷ Jeremy Eichler, ‘Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Britten and Me’, *The New York Times*, 16 April 2006, p. 2.1 (hereafter Eichler). Actually, the disagreement over *Testimony*’s merits is more between musicologists, especially in the West, and performers, music critics, and fans of Shostakovich’s music around the world. Recently, *New York Times* critic Edward Rothstein voiced some positive words about the memoirs (‘In a Subversive Key’, *The New York Times Sunday Book Review*, 8 May 2011, p. BR16), noting that despite continued arguments over the book’s authenticity, ‘its central point (as well as many of its anecdotes) was confirmed by Soviet émigrés and other accounts after the fall of the Soviet Union [and . . .] its characterizations still remain generally unchallenged’. This elicited a knee-jerk reaction from Professor Simon Morrison, who again dismissed the memoirs as ‘classic cold war fiction, offering a false image of Shostakovich as a suffering, dissident Romantic. Its claims, contrary to Rothstein’s belief, have been shredded’ (*The New York Times Sunday Book Review*, 22 May 2011, p. BR6).

⁸ Elizabeth Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*, revised and expanded 2nd edn., Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford, 2006, p. xiii (hereafter Wilson, 2nd edn.). Still other writers, such as Wendy Lesser, believe that the uproar that *Testimony* elicited ‘is finally so pointless’. Rather than give the memoirs due credit, she goes on to say:

now we have numerous other kinds of evidence — the oral testimony of the composer’s friends and relations, recently published letters to and from him, analogous instances in previously unprintable novels, stories, and poems, and our own increasingly informed sense of how life in that time was lived — to suggest that Shostakovich could never have been the placidly obedient Party apparatchik he was sometimes made to seem. So Volkov’s central and rather doubtfully obtained revelation is no revelation at all (*Music for Silenced Voices*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2011, p. 6).

According to Lesser’s reasoning, a revelation ‘is no revelation at all’ when confirmed (or, in her words, ‘suggested’) by other evidence later on.

⁹ In 2006, Professor Steven R. Swayne, a graduate of the University of California, Berkeley, and the administration at Dartmouth College deemed the ‘Shostakovich Wars’ such a fascinating and important topic that they invited Volkov to speak on campus and selected *Testimony* as the ‘First-Year Summer Reading’ book to be read and discussed not just by its music majors but by all of its incoming freshmen (i.e., the future Class of 2010). This, of course, generated its own sparks, including a Taruskin-like diatribe, replete with glaring factual errors, by *Dartmouth Review* editor Emily Ghods-Esfahani. She questioned why Dartmouth would expose its students to such material (‘the crib notes of Volkov and his would-be hand puppet Shostakovich’, an obvious paraphrase of Taruskin’s ‘Volkov, speaking through his

Richard Taruskin recently has characterized the ‘Shostakovich Wars’ as ‘a religious war, a genuine jihad’.¹⁰ This is, perhaps, apt. However, it should be emphasized that the goals and methodologies of the warring factions are distinct and completely different. Taruskin and his allies seek nothing less than the total annihilation of *Testimony*, wanting to make it just ‘go away’.¹¹ To that end they have attacked Solomon Volkov viciously and repeatedly, while ignoring and even suppressing information that would support him and the memoirs. We, on the other hand, seek nothing more than a complete disclosure of material pertinent to the debate. We encourage everyone to read *Testimony* as well as all of the criticism and praise it has elicited the past thirty years. If we are at times highly critical of our opponents, it is only because of their ongoing attempts to limit the dissemination of knowledge and to stifle those with views different from their own. Hopefully, after today’s ‘jihadists’ are gone and personal egos and reputations are no longer at stake, History will judge what is true and not. We leave that in her trustworthy hands.

little puppet Mitya’), instead of the books by Fay and Wilson, among others. ‘Could the administration really be so eager to create little Volshits [her vulgar substitution for ‘Volkov/Shostakovich’] — all astride in their homogeneous dissent?’ (cf., ‘Summer Reading: Total Volshit’, *Dartmouth Review*, 1 October 2006, on the Internet at <<http://www.dartreview.com/articles/p/2006-10-01-summer-reading-total-volshit>>).

¹⁰ Richard Taruskin, *On Russian Music*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2009, p. 16 (hereafter *On Russian Music*).

¹¹ Laurel E. Fay, paper, national meeting of the American Musicological Society, 3 November 1995; *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 246, note 17, and 291. Authors skeptical of *Testimony* tend to dismiss it at the start (e.g., Lesser, *Music for Silenced Voices*) or to cite it sparingly (e.g., Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life*) or not at all (Fairclough, ed., *Shostakovich Studies 2*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010). Some, however, remain more open minded. It ‘grieves’ Taruskin (*On Russian Music*, p. 338) that Boris Gasparov concludes, in his *Five Operas and a Symphony* (Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 2005), p. 254, note 9:

Even if *Testimony* is Volkov’s loose compilation — as to all appearances it is — I consider its total banishment from scholarly reference for which many serious musicologists have called to be a polemical excess. If one approaches *Testimony* as Volkov’s account of his conversations with Shostakovich rather than direct transcription of Shostakovich’s oral narrative, one can treat it as no more and no less reliable than any set of memoirs.

Similarly, Karl Aage Rasmussen, in *Sviatoslav Richter: Pianist* (Northeastern University Press, Boston, 2010), p. 139, acknowledges:

It is unlikely that an irrefutable piece of evidence for the purported autobiography as an authentic document of the composer’s own voice (or the reverse, as a fictionalized account) will turn up. But that this debate persists more than twenty-five years after the book’s publication is evidence of its indisputable value as a document of musical history and as a vehicle for the intense growth of interest in the composer’s music.

A Note from the Authors

The ‘Shostakovich Wars’, like *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, was originally to be published in hard copy by Toccata Press. However, given the much wider distribution possible today via the Internet, we have decided to make this material freely accessible to anyone interested in Shostakovich. Our purpose in undertaking this research has always been to document what other scholars have been reluctant to report. Therefore, we believe that a pdf download of *The ‘Shostakovich Wars’* best serves this purpose while also making possible more frequent updates of this text (noted on the title page) — something not feasible, economically, with traditional publication. We anticipate that this book will stimulate new discussion of the topic and bring to light additional information on both Shostakovich and *Testimony*.

Addendum 1: Vladimir Krainev’s Corroboration of the Volkov/Shostakovich Meetings

Just as this book was about to go public, we learned of still another revelation worth documenting. This ‘bombshell’ came from Vladimir Krainev, who shared First Prize with John Lill in the International Tchaikovsky Competition in 1970 and was one of the most distinguished pianists in the world. In his book *Monolog Pianista (A Pianist's Monologue)*, p. 106, published in 2011, Krainev confirms that ‘regular’ meetings took place between Volkov and Shostakovich, after which Volkov told him about the content of those conversations (emphasis added):

Then Zhenya [Yevgeny Nesterenko] moved to Moscow. He and I knew Solomon Volkov well. He [Volkov] had been asking us to play duets. I met Volkov during the IV Tchaikovsky Competition — Solomon wrote a lot about it, did an extensive interview with me, which he published in the Riga press. We also met in Leningrad, where I played often, and eventually Volkov moved to Moscow. I lived in a three-room apartment, with my mother. She did not object for Solomon to stay with us for about three months. That was during the time when he had his meetings with Shostakovich, which was the basis for the writing of *Testimony*. The authenticity of it, at a certain time, was contested, but *the fact that Volkov and Shostakovich met regularly is without doubt. During the nights, Solomon excitingly told me about their conversations*, and also advised me to join forces with Zhenya Nesterenko.

Krainev, thus, is still another first-hand witness who has corroborated the actions and statements of Volkov vis-à-vis *Testimony* (for others, cf. p. 45). To continue to deny that Shostakovich and Volkov met *regularly* — not just three times — to work on the composer’s life story is to close one’s eyes to the ever mounting evidence that *Testimony* is exactly what Volkov has always claimed it to be: the memoirs of Shostakovich as related to and edited by Solomon Volkov.

Addendum 2: Kurt Sanderling’s Endorsement of *Testimony*

The late conductor Kurt Sanderling is yet another figure close to Shostakovich who remained convinced of *Testimony’s* authenticity. In an interview published in the booklet for the ‘International Shostakovich Days in Gohrisch’ Festival (2010), he stated:

Shostakovich had a deep-seated fear of the authorities. I recall that in spite of the fact that even in those days [1972] Shostakovich had difficulty in walking, he suggested we go for a walk — over to the tennis court in Gohrisch [GDR] next to

the house — to talk. Nobody could eavesdrop on us there! I recall that we walked for a long, long time, at least for an hour, around and around the tennis court where he poured out his heart and answered all my questions. This remained in my memory, that despite his serious handicap in terms of mobility, he needed to go and walk outside simply for fear of eavesdropping. During this conversation he used expressions that I later found in Solomon Volkov's memoirs, from which fact I came to the conclusion that the book [*Testimony*] is authentic, otherwise, he wouldn't have used a phrase such as: 'The worst were the mountains of corpses' — with which the book concludes. These were exactly the words he used while speaking to me at the tennis court (Tobias Niederschlag, 'Kurt Sanderling on Shostakovich: This Music Has Passed the Test of Time', transl. Henny van der Groep, *DSCH Journal*, 37, July 2012, p. 7).

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We dedicate *The 'Shostakovich Wars'* to the memory of our friends and colleagues Per Skans (1936–2006) and Ian MacDonald (1948–2003). Skans greatly enriched the music world with his numerous radio programs, liner notes, and other publications, which showcased both his encyclopedic knowledge and his enthusiasm for a wide variety of compositions. MacDonald, similarly, was astonishingly well versed in music, literature, history, and culture, and wrote brilliantly on topics ranging from Shostakovich to the Beatles. His pathbreaking book *The New Shostakovich*, numerous scholarly articles, and richly informative website 'Music Under Soviet Rule' have indelibly altered how people think about Shostakovich and hear his music.

In Memory of Ian MacDonald and Per Skans



photo by Marianna Volkov

*Left to right: Marianna Volkov, Allan B. Ho, Dmitry Feofanov, and Solomon Volkov,
14 February 1999, New York.*

'A reminder of our conversations about Fay, Taruskin, and Brown. S.V.'

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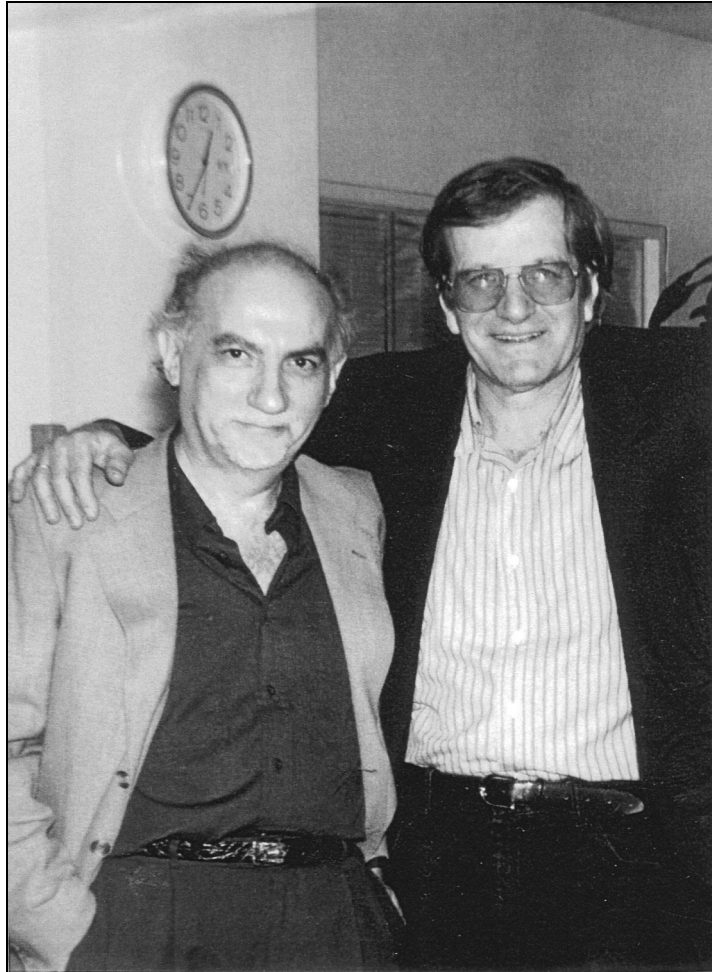
‘I am an admirer of Volkov. There is nothing false there [in *Testimony*]. Definitely the style of speech is Shostakovich’s — not only the choice of words, but also the way they are put together’.

—Galina Shostakovich, interview, 15 October 1995¹²

‘We, Shostakovich’s children, who watched his life pass before our eyes, express our profound gratitude to Solomon Volkov for his marvelous work, the naked truth of which will undoubtedly help our contemporaries and future generations better to see the difficult fate of our unforgettable father, and through it, better to understand his music’.

—Galina and Maxim Shostakovich,

Introduction to the 2nd Russian edition of Volkov’s *Shostakovich and Stalin*, September 2006¹³



Solomon Volkov and Maxim Shostakovich, 28 May 1997, New York.

¹² For a translation of her complete statement, *cf.* p. 33 below.

¹³ For a translation of the entire Introduction, *cf.* p. 251 below. Volkov’s *Shostakovich and Stalin* has been so well-received that it has already been translated into a variety of languages: English (Knopf, New York, 2004; Little and Brown, London 2004), German (Propyläen Verlag, Berlin, 2004), French (Éditions du Rocher, Paris, 2005), Russian (Eksmo, Moscow, 2004 and 2006), Dutch (Uitgeverij de Arbeiderspers, Amsterdam/Antwerpen, 2005), Estonian (Tänapäev, Tallinn, 2005), Greek (Kedros, Athens, 2005), Italian (Garzanti, Milan, 2006), Hungarian (Napvilág Kiadó, Budapest, 2008), and Romanian (forthcoming).

I. The Critical Reception of *Shostakovich Reconsidered*

When first published in 1998, *Shostakovich Reconsidered* opened a new door in Shostakovich research by reporting what, for nearly two decades, the leading Shostakovich and Russian music scholars in the West had been loathe to reveal: that evidence existed to corroborate both the genesis and contents of *Testimony*. Most of the critical reception of *Shostakovich Reconsidered* has been extremely positive (cf. pp. 272–77 below).¹⁴ Not unexpectedly, however, a handful of reviewers criticized the book as ‘ludicrously polemic’¹⁵ and a ‘militant publication’¹⁶ because it questioned both the methodologies and conclusions of Laurel Fay, Richard Taruskin, and Malcolm Hamrick Brown, icons in the field of Russian music research in the USA. What is remarkable about this criticism is that the principal naysayers all have clear and demonstrable ties to Fay, Taruskin, or Brown.

When Allan Ho was asked to review Elizabeth Wilson’s *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered* for *MLA Notes*, he declined because, in spite of his great admiration for her text, he knew that *Shostakovich Reconsidered* would include a few critical remarks about it. In contrast, it is routine for the colleagues and friends of Fay, Taruskin, and Brown to praise their books in reviews while criticizing those with opposing viewpoints. For example, David Fanning reviewed *Shostakovich Reconsidered* three times, twice in print and once on radio, even though *Shostakovich Reconsidered* questions his own research and that of four other contributors to his *Shostakovich Studies*: namely Fay, Taruskin, Manashir Yakubov, and Eric Roseberry. He did not even feel it pertinent to mention his conflict of interest.¹⁷ In addition, Taruskin, in ‘Casting a Great Composer as a Fictional Hero’ in *The New York Times*, defends and praises Fay’s *Shostakovich: A Life* despite his

¹⁴ For an extensive, unbiased selection of reviews of *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, cf. *DSCH Journal*, 10, Winter 1998, pp. 50–66.

¹⁵ Tamara Bernstein, ‘Shostakovich in Shades of Grey’, *The National Post* [Canada], 14 March 2000, p. B2 (hereafter Bernstein).

¹⁶ Simon Morrison, ‘Laurel Fay’s *Shostakovich: A Life* (2000)’, in Malcolm H. Brown (ed.), *A Shostakovich Casebook*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana, 2004, p. 347 (hereafter *A Shostakovich Casebook*).

¹⁷ Cf. ‘Testimony or Travesty’, *BBC Music Magazine*, 7/1, September 1998, pp. 23–25; *Music and Letters*, 80/3, August 1999, pp. 489–91, and his passing remarks on BBC Radio 3. Fanning’s conflict of interest was readily apparent to Vesa Sirén, who wrote in *Helsingin Sanomat*, 18 October 1998: ‘David Fanning has already found time to maul the book in, e.g., the *BBC Music Magazine*. This was to be expected, as the book mocks Fanning, too, within several pages’. For our full response to Fanning’s *BBC Music Magazine* review, cf. ‘David Fanning’s “Testimony or Travesty”: A Conflict of Interest’, *DSCH Journal*, 11, Summer 1999, pp. 40–42; only a shortened version was printed in *BBC Music Magazine* itself.

Before he had read the last fifty pages of *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, Fanning, in an email of 14 April 1998 to Martin Anderson of Toccata Press, praised our defense of *Testimony* as ‘a brilliant presentation of a case. It reminds me of the TV courtroom dramas where a lawyer takes apart evidence that seemed to be conclusive’. Significantly, the last fifty pages of the book features Ian MacDonald’s ‘Naive Anti-Revisionism’, which criticizes Fanning and other contributors to his *Shostakovich Studies*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995 (hereafter *Shostakovich Studies*). Although Fanning, in *Music and Letters*, p. 489, mentions that here ‘MacDonald goes solo, inveighing against the “Naive-Anti-Revisionism” of selected Western academics’, he does not identify himself as one of the latter either in this review or in that in *BBC Music Magazine*.

own conflict of interest, thus violating that newspaper's usual policy of prohibiting anyone mentioned in a publication from reviewing it.¹⁸ Significantly, Taruskin is not only quoted on the dust jacket of Fay's book (along with Brown), but he is thanked in the acknowledgments (again, with Brown).¹⁹

Others who criticized *Shostakovich Reconsidered* also have 'connections'. When Dmitry Feofanov responded to points raised in Tamara Bernstein's review in *The National Post*,²⁰ he received an email response not from Bernstein, but from Taruskin himself. So 'independent' and 'objective' was this reviewer that she had forwarded Feofanov's communication almost as a knee-jerk reaction.²¹ It turns out that Bernstein had previously gone on record rejecting *Testimony* and had collaborated with both Taruskin and Fay in the mid-1990s on a CBC Radio program about Shostakovich.²² It is also most interesting that Simon Morrison, who criticized *Shostakovich Reconsidered* in a glowing review of Fay's *Shostakovich: A Life in the Journal of the American Musicological Society*,²³ later was a guest speaker, along with Fay and Taruskin, at a 75th birthday festival for Brown,²⁴ and that Paul Mitchinson, who reviewed our book for

¹⁸ Taruskin, *The New York Times*, 5 March 2000, p. AR 43.

¹⁹ Fay next would write a promotional statement for Taruskin's *On Russian Music*, which is dedicated, in part, to her (veiled as 'Lorochka'). Such reciprocal praise again calls to mind Krylov's well-known fable 'The Cock and Cuckoo', discussed in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 288, with regard to the 'Shostakovich Wars'. The final lines read: 'Why did the Cuckoo praise the Cock, Do tell! The Cock had praised the Cuckoo's song so well'.

²⁰ Email from Feofanov to Bernstein, 4 November 1998.

²¹ Also cf. *DSCH Journal*, 11, Summer 1999, pp. 21 and 41, note 2.

²² Cf. 'In Search of Shostakovich', three 60-minute broadcasts prepared for CBC Radio; transcripts available from Alan Mercer, the editor of *DSCH Journal*. Ms. Bernstein opened her CBC program by saying that *Testimony* cannot be considered 'authentic' and that it will consequently not be quoted. Also heard on the program is Professor Caryl Emerson, a longtime friend of Taruskin (*On Russian Music*, p. 200) and a contributor to Fay's *Shostakovich and His World*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2004 (hereafter *Shostakovich and His World*). Emerson also is thanked in the 'Acknowledgments' of Brown's *A Shostakovich Casebook* (cf. note 48 below) and served as one of Simon Morrison's dissertation advisors. Wendy Lesser, in *Music for Silenced Voices* (2011), similarly, dismisses *Testimony* early on (pp. 6–7) and only in her 'Acknowledgments' (p. 341) reveals her 'connection': 'Laurel Fay, with a generosity unequalled in my experience, offered me her knowledge, her connections, her opinions, and her time; her book *Shostakovich: A Life* [...] was the foundation against which I continually checked my own work'.

²³ Reprinted in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 346–59. Morrison also reviewed Taruskin's *Defining Russia Musically*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1997 (hereafter *Defining Russia Musically*), as did Malcolm Brown.

²⁴ 'Papers on Russian Music in Honor of Malcolm Hamrick Brown', 16 October 2004, Indiana University. His book *Russian Opera and the Symbolist Movement* was published in 2002 in the series 'California Studies in 20th-Century Music', of which Taruskin is the general editor. In his Acknowledgments, p. ix, we find mention not only of Caryl Emerson (cf. note 22 above), but the following: 'My special thanks to Richard Taruskin, who helped edit the dissertation for publication, offered corrections and refinements, identified lacunae in the arguments, and was unwavering in his support'. In his *Sergei Prokofiev and His World*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2008, p. xii, Morrison thanks both Emerson and Malcolm Hamrick Brown, and in *The People's Artist: Prokofiev's Soviet Years*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009, pp. 393–94, he acknowledges his 'immense debt to Malcolm Brown, a cherished friend and mentor', describes Emerson as his 'closest friend', and expresses gratitude to both Taruskin and Fay for their 'invaluable critical readings' of his manuscript. Taruskin, in *On Russian Music*, p. 23, reciprocates,

Lingua Franca, later not only joined Fay and Bernstein at the Shostakovich 2001 Public Forum in Toronto, Canada, ‘Hearing His True Voice?’, but also appeared with Fay at the Shostakovich Festival at Bard College and is a contributor to Brown’s *A Shostakovich Casebook*.

Esti Sheinberg is another scholar who, in 1999, published a critical review of *Shostakovich Reconsidered*.²⁵ Again, one need only check the ‘Acknowledgments’ in her book *Irony, Satire, Parody and the Grotesque in the Music of Shostakovich* (2000), p. x, to find the connection: ‘I am grateful to [. . .] Malcolm Hamrick Brown for stimulating correspondence over the e-mail concerning the current state of research on Shostakovich’. As a final example, consider the article ‘Facts, Fantasies, and Fictions: Recent Shostakovich Studies’ that appeared in the journal *Music and Letters* in 2005. Its author, Pauline Fairclough, criticizes *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, MacDonald’s *The New Shostakovich*, and Volkov’s *Shostakovich and Stalin*, while praising Fay’s writings and denouncing the ‘torrent of vilification that was leveled at Laurel Fay during the late 1990s’ that she finds ‘absolutely unprecedented in the history of Western musicology’.²⁶ Fairclough is a relatively new figure in the ‘Shostakovich Wars’. She wrote a dissertation titled *Shostakovich’s Fourth Symphony: Context and Analysis* at Manchester University, with David Fanning as ‘research director’. She co-edited with Fanning *The Cambridge Companion to Shostakovich*. And she was the organizer of the International Shostakovich Centenary Conference at the University of Bristol (29 September–1 October 2006) at which Fay was the keynote speaker.

In addition to their surrogates, the principals themselves have attempted to stifle opposing views. In 1998, when Allan Ho submitted an abstract for a paper to be presented at the national meeting of the American Musicological Society, Richard Taruskin wrote to Professor John W. Hill, who was on the Program Committee, to try to have it rejected. This episode is discussed in detail on pp. 195–96 below. Ho’s paper, which questioned why the leading Russian music scholars had not reported any of the evidence supporting *Testimony*, was accepted in spite of Taruskin’s protest and Professor Hill even sent ‘a curt missive’ to the latter admonishing him for trying to suppress the airing of opinions other than his own.²⁷ Similarly behind the scenes, Fay was asked to evaluate one of Sofiya Khentova’s monumental studies of Shostakovich for translation into English and wider distribution. Unfortunately, Fay’s negative evaluation of Khentova’s work, amply evident in her own *Shostakovich: A Life*,²⁸ has left this material inaccessible to those who do not read Russian.

praising Morrison and Pauline Fairclough, and including Fay and Brown in his dedication (*cf.* note 681 below).

²⁵ *MLA Notes*, 56/2, 1999, pp. 422–24.

²⁶ Pauline Fairclough, ‘Facts, Fantasies, and Fictions: Recent Shostakovich Studies’, *Music and Letters*, 86/3, August 2005, p. 452 (hereafter Fairclough).

²⁷ *Cf.* Taruskin’s ‘The 2000 Cramb Lecture’, *DSCH Journal*, 14, January 2001, p. 30 (hereafter Taruskin, ‘Cramb Lecture’).

²⁸ Laurel Fay, in *Shostakovich: A Life*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, p. 3 (hereafter Fay), states that the 1985–86 two-volume study by Khentova, Shostakovich’s official Soviet biographer, ‘seems an absolute gold mine of dates, names, and detail unavailable elsewhere. In fact, it is a minefield of misinformation and misrepresentation, incorrect dates and facts, errors of every stripe’. Of Khentova’s 1996 revision, she adds that ‘much of the new information published in the ten years since the previous

In 2004, Malcolm H. Brown's *A Shostakovich Casebook* appeared in print as a foil to both *Testimony* and *Shostakovich Reconsidered*. Brown writes:

The earliest incentive for producing the present *Shostakovich Casebook* came from a colleague who teaches the standard 'survey of twentieth-century music' for music majors. He took me aside one day in the hallway: 'You know something? My students write term papers on Shostakovich far more than on any other twentieth-century composer. And they believe every word of *Testimony* and *Shostakovich Reconsidered*. Why don't you put together a selection of writings that would give them a different perspective, especially including something from the Soviet or Russian point of view?'²⁹

In fact, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, consisting of twenty-five essays, is not so much a detailed response to *Shostakovich Reconsidered* as merely a reaction. The majority of points we made six years earlier in defense of *Testimony* continue to be ignored, as they were in Fay's *Shostakovich: A Life*.³⁰ Typical is Simon Morrison's complaint that we list in our index ninety-six specific page references to Fay's 'selective scholarship'.³¹ Morrison does not rebut these examples, but is merely offended that we pointed them out. This calls to mind some of the early critics of *Testimony*, who did not dispute that Shostakovich might have said such negative things about people, but were offended that Volkov put them into print. Morrison also finds Fay's biography 'a multifaceted portrait of its subject',³² noting that

she shows that, just as 'people, ideas, and facts that became unpalatable were routinely "airbrushed" out of existence in the later Soviet sources' in order to demonstrate the composer's loyalty to the regime (p. 5), post-Soviet sources show an equally problematic tendency to suppress inconvenient details in order to demonstrate his dissidence. In this regard, her biography nuances the assertions of such senior Russian musicologists

edition has not been consulted, nor have most of its mistakes been corrected' (Fay, p. 289, note 4). In striking contrast, Irina Shostakovich says that she recognizes her husband most in the books by Meyer and Khentova (Vesa Sirén, 'Irina Šostakoviš avaa vihdoin kotinsa' ('Irina Shostakovich finally opens up her home'), *Helsingin Sanomat*, 19 June 2009, p. C 1).

²⁹ Malcolm H. Brown, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 1.

³⁰ Fay's book, p. 289, note 7, merely reports that 'In the recently published *Shostakovich Reconsidered* (London, 1998), the attempt by authors Allan Ho and Dmitry Feofanov to "authenticate" *Testimony* by means of third-party endorsements and circumstantial evidence raises as many questions as it purports to answer. The controversy is far from resolved'.

³¹ Simon Morrison, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 357.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 346. This assessment is contradicted by other evaluations of Fay's book: cf. pp. 207–9 below; Ian MacDonald's in-depth review on the Internet at <<http://www.siu.edu/~aho/musov/fay/fay.html>>; Sudip Bose, 'Subversive Symphonies', *The Washington Post Book World*, 28 November 1999, p. X03; Harlow Robinson, 'A Bitter Music', *The New York Times Book Review*, 2 January 2000, p. 22; Joseph Horowitz, 'A Moral Beacon Amid the Darkness of a Tragic Era', *The New York Times*, 6 February 2000, p. 2.1, and Norman Lebrecht, 'Shostakovich — Dissident Notes', *The Daily Telegraph*, 19 January 2000, p. 25.

as Mark Aranovsky, who recently declared that the composer ‘actively resisted the totalitarian regime’ throughout his career, with the performance of music offering a ‘*moment of truth*’ to Soviet audiences.³³

The statement that Fay’s book ‘nuances the assertions of such senior Russian musicologists as Mark Aranovsky’ is most peculiar. In fact, Fay completely omits from the bibliography of her book the very article to which Morrison refers, and Aranovsky is not mentioned at all in her index.³⁴ Was this just a Freudian slip, or were passages such as the following ‘nuanced’ *out* of her ‘multifaceted portrait’ of Shostakovich?

For those who listened attentively to his strong voice, filled with anxiety and, at times, breaking with despair, Shostakovich had become a *crucial symbol of intellectual integrity*. For many years his music remained a *safety valve* that, for a few short hours, allowed listeners to expand their chests and breathe freely. At the time, his music was that truly indispensable lungful of *freedom* and *dissidence*, not only in its content, but also — which is no less important — in its musical form. However, first and foremost, we were grateful to Shostakovich for the fact that during those precious minutes of communion with his music, we were free to remain ourselves — or, perhaps, *to revert* to ourselves. The sound of Shostakovich’s music was not only always a celebration of high art, but also an *interlude of truth*. Those who knew how to listen to his music would take it away with them from the concert hall.

His music became an emblem of spiritual experience and of hope for the future. It can be said, without exaggerating, that Shostakovich was the authentic *conscience of his time*. I would suggest that it is our task to carry over that understanding of his work into the present and to instill it into the coming generations of musicians and listeners.³⁵

Another issue raised in *Shostakovich Reconsidered* is how Brown and other ‘anti-revisionists’ repeatedly quote Maxim Shostakovich’s statements on *Testimony* from

³³ Morrison, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 347.

³⁴ On the other hand, Fay’s bibliography includes at least twenty-four references to other material in the same issue of *Muzykal’naya Akademiya*, 4, 1997; cf. pp. 387, 388 (two), 390, 393, 394, 395, 396, 399, 401, 406, 409 (two), 411, 412, 413, 417, 418 (three), 419 (two), and 421 (two). Among these, on p. 387, Aranovsky’s article on *Testimony* is cited, but not the one discussing Shostakovich as *inakomyslyashchy* (nonconformist or, literally, ‘otherwise-thinker’) (cf. note 35 below).

³⁵ Mark Aranovsky, ‘Inakomyslyashchy’ (‘The Nonconformist’), *Muzykal’naya Akademiya*, 4, 1997, p. 3; for a translation of the complete article, cf. ‘The Dissident’, *DSCH Journal*, 12, January 2000, pp. 24–26. In his reminiscences, Yevgeny Shenderovich shares a similar view of Shostakovich: ‘He knew everything — how they imprisoned people, how they rotted them in the camps, how they exterminated them. His tragic music is a chronicle of that period of Soviet life. Once, at a rehearsal by the Leningrad Glazunov quartet, a violinist asked: “Why don’t you write beautiful melodies?” Shostakovich sat silently at the piano and improvised a beautiful segment. Everyone was stunned. And then he said: “We can’t write such music now”’ (Marina Rakhmanova, *Shostakovich: Urtext*, Deka, Moscow, 2006, p. 32; hereafter Rakhmanova).

before the fall of the Soviet regime in 1991, even though his own and Galina Shostakovich's support for Volkov and the memoirs has only grown over the years. Remarkably, in *A Shostakovich Casebook* the quotations again stop at 1991³⁶ and, apparently, no new attempt was made to contact Maxim or Galina specifically for the book. No mention is made of Maxim's recent statements in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 113–14. Moreover, Fay dismisses Maxim's appearances with Volkov — for example, at the 'Salute to Shostakovich' symposium at Russell Sage College (January 1992) and on Radio Liberty (November 1992) — as merely a 'display of amicable sociability toward Volkov in various public arenas',³⁷ and she does not mention at all Maxim's collaboration with Volkov on the article 'On "Late" Shostakovich' (1988), his 'vouch[ing] for the authenticity' of the excerpts from *Testimony* included in Josiah Fisk's *Composers on Music* (1997), or that he personally invited Volkov to his own fiftieth birthday party in 1988.³⁸ Such an invitation certainly was not necessary and speaks volumes about Maxim's views of Volkov and *Testimony*. Simply put, would Maxim invite the forger of his father's memoirs to his own birthday party? Would he also attend, as a *guest of honor*, the launching of the Czech edition of *Testimony* in December 2005;³⁹ provide, in collaboration with his sister, an Introduction to the second Russian edition of Volkov's *Shostakovich and Stalin* in 2006; and invite Volkov to still another birthday celebration, Maxim's seventieth, in New York in 2008?⁴⁰

In *Shostakovich Reconsidered* we further demonstrated that numerous passages in *Testimony* claimed to be in error do, in fact, reflect positions held by the composer and that these now have been corroborated, often multiple times, by other sources. But *A Shostakovich Casebook* neither acknowledges this evidence nor explains how Volkov, who critics claim had limited access to the composer, could have been correct in so many details, other than to suggest — without evidence — the existence of one or more secret informers. We also questioned whether the signatories to the letter of denunciation published in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* on 14 November 1979 even had access to the book and read it for themselves before adding their names. Although the complete letter is reprinted in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, Brown still does not question whether the signatories were even familiar with that which they were denouncing.

³⁶ In *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 46–48, Fay quotes Maxim on *Testimony* from 1981, 1982, 1989, and 1991, whereas Brown, p. 259, quotes him from 1981 and 1989.

³⁷ Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 48.

³⁸ Volkov's attendance at this celebration is documented in photographs and has been confirmed by other guests, such as Professor Irwin Weil of Northwestern University (email of 14 September 1998), who served as a translator for Dmitry Shostakovich during his visit there in 1973.

³⁹ *Svědectví: paměti Dmitrije Šostakoviče*, Solomon Volkov (ed.), transl. from the German edition of Hedy Pross-Weerth into Czech by Hana Linhartová and Vladimír Sommer, Akademie múzických umění, Prague, 2005.

⁴⁰ Cf. the text and photograph on pp. 251–52 below. His personal relationship with both Maxim and Galina Shostakovich continues to the present.

In the end, the truth about *Testimony* and Shostakovich is what matters. Therefore, we strongly encourage everyone to read Brown's *A Shostakovich Casebook*.⁴¹ To be sure, it is valuable for documenting the latest views of the critics of *Testimony* and of Solomon Volkov, and for making more readily available, in translation, a number of documents pertinent to the debate. Equally important, it provides additional concrete and recent examples of these scholars' ongoing selective scholarship and musicological myopia. As we demonstrate below, some scholars have adopted a 'don't ask, don't tell' methodology; they neither search for evidence opposite to their own views nor do they disclose such information so that independent minds can make their own decisions. Frankly, had Fay, Taruskin, and Brown disclosed everything about the *Testimony* controversy during the past thirty years, we would have had nothing to write about in the nearly 800 pages of *Shostakovich Reconsidered*. The fact that they continue to 'cherry pick' the evidence has left us with a wealth of new material for this book.

⁴¹ Contrast our position with that of Fay and others who do not encourage people to read for themselves *Testimony*, *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, *The New Shostakovich*, Khentova's publications, and other books with views different from their own. Indeed, *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, 1998, is not even listed in the bibliographies in Wilson's *Shostakovich*, 2nd edn., 2006, or Fanning and Fairclough's *Cambridge Companion to Shostakovich*, though they make space for Brown's *A Shostakovich Casebook*, 2004, which was conceived as a response to *Shostakovich Reconsidered*.

II. Malcolm Hamrick Brown's *A Shostakovich Casebook*

1. 'Complacency, Cover-up, or Incompetence?'

As the editor of *A Shostakovich Casebook*, Malcolm Hamrick Brown deserves both accolades for its merits and the lion's share of responsibility for its faults. Unfortunately, the latter often outweighs the former, simply because Brown himself displays a less than sure grasp of the issues. We have previously called attention to Brown's gaffes in the Shostakovich arena.⁴² Regretfully, in his latest book he not only errs in his own contributions, distorting issues both small and large, but also lacks the requisite background to question dubious statements made by his contributors. Several of these problems are examined below.

In his recollection entitled 'A Brief Encounter and Present Perspective (1996, 2002)', Brown writes:

Back to Shostakovich's Fourth Symphony: This was the symphony that had been in rehearsal for its première at the very moment in 1936 when *Pravda* published the notorious official denunciation of Shostakovich's opera, *Ledi Makbet Mtsenskogo uezda* [Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District]. In the wake of the scandal, the première of the symphony was canceled.⁴³

His claim that Shostakovich's Fourth Symphony '*had been in rehearsal for its première at the very moment*' that the infamous 'Muddle Instead of Music' article appeared in *Pravda*, criticizing the composer's *Lady Macbeth*, is demonstrably false, yet, by his own admission, Brown may have repeated this error some six times at professional meetings.⁴⁴ In fact, the Fourth Symphony was not even finished when 'Muddle Instead of Music' appeared on 28 January 1936.

If Brown has new evidence to support an earlier completion for the Fourth Symphony, he should present it and inform Fay, whose *Shostakovich: A Life* still gives a later date for the work.⁴⁵ He should also share this information with Pauline Fairclough,

⁴² Cf. pp. 262–63 below as well as Allan B. Ho and Dmitry Feofanov, 'Right to Reply: Shostakovich and The Testimony Affair', *DSCH Journal*, 8, Winter 1997, pp. 42–46, and Malcolm Hamrick Brown, 'Arena', *DSCH Journal*, 9, Summer 1998, pp. 28–41.

⁴³ Brown, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 328.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 342, notes that earlier versions of this article were presented at:

California State University, Long Beach, 17 February 1996

Indiana University, Bloomington, 1 November 1996

Florida State University, 19 March 1997

University of Cincinnati, 24 January 1997

University of Tennessee-Martin, 14 April 2000, South-Central meeting of the American Musicological Society

Staunton Music Festival, Staunton, Virginia, 21 July 2001.

⁴⁵ Fay, pp. 92–94. Also cf. Manashir Yakubov, 'The "Original" Fourth Symphony', *DSCH Journal*, 15, July 2001, pp. 60–61:

Based on material from Shostakovich's archive and possibly on the composer's own testimony, Yefim Sadovnikov documented the date work began on the final version of

the author of a new book on the Fourth,⁴⁶ who in 2005 stated that ‘it is *well known* that Shostakovich was [. . .] *at work on* the finale at the time the articles appeared’.⁴⁷ If, on the other hand, Brown has lapsed again, he should explain how he could have made such a mistake about two landmark events in Shostakovich’s career, especially since he is no doubt familiar with the date of the Fourth given in Fay’s book and, in *A Shostakovich Casebook* itself, pp. 350 and 364, both Morrison and Taruskin give the correct date for ‘Muddle Instead of Music’. Was it through complacency, cover-up, or incompetence? One also wonders why Fay herself and Caryl Emerson did not call this *faux pas* to Brown’s attention.⁴⁸

If Brown’s confusion over the dates of the Fourth Symphony and ‘Muddle Instead of Music’ is not shocking enough, he also distorts the *Testimony* debate itself: that is, the *raison d’être* for his book. Using a colleague’s phrase, he claims that the “‘Soviet or Russian point of view” [. . .] had not been made readily available because of language’.⁴⁹ In fact, there is no monolithic Soviet or Russian viewpoint on *Testimony*, as is made clear in Brown’s own book. Lyudmila Kovnatskaya reports that ‘Some among Shostakovich’s contemporaries, who had been acquainted with the master, recognized his “voice” from the tales they had heard him tell, his intonation, and his idiosyncratic manner of speaking and expressing himself; others had no such impression of the “voice” in the

the symphony as 13 September 1935. By the end of October, the exposition and development of the first movement were finished. Events at the turn of 1935–1936 (tour of the Leningrad Maly Opera Theatre to Moscow, the premiere of *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District* at the USSR Bolshoi Theatre, publication of the articles ‘Muddle Instead of Music’ and ‘Balletic Lies’ in *Pravda*, and the persecution campaign against the composer) temporarily interrupted this work. However, in the spring of 1936, the composer resumed his work on the symphony, and in April, the piano score was already finished.

Several sources state that the Fourth Symphony was finished on 20 May 1936. Shostakovich’s correspondence, however, suggests a slightly earlier completion. In a letter of 17 April 1936 to Vissarion Shebalin, Shostakovich noted, ‘I have almost finished my symphony. Now I am orchestrating the finale (3rd movement)’. This is consistent with what he told Andrey Balanchivadze the same month: ‘Now I am orchestrating [the Fourth]. I think I will finish in a week, since orchestration is not far behind the music’. Finally, he reported to Viktor Kubatsky on 27 April 1936 that ‘I finished my symphony yesterday’. In *Testimony*, p. 39, Shostakovich blames the loss of the manuscript of the Fourth Symphony on Aleksandr Gauk. Yakubov, on pp. 60 and 62 of the article above, confirms both that Gauk ‘kept the manuscript from the mid-1930s’ and that this material ‘has never been found’. Khentova, *Shostakovich: Zhizn’ i tvorchestvo (Shostakovich: Life and Works)*, Sovetsky kompozitor, Leningrad, 1986, I, p. 439, explains that following the cancellation of the Leningrad performance, Gauk took the score to Moscow, hoping to perform it there. Although it was played on piano four-hands in Moscow in December 1936, Gauk’s archive, with the only full score of the symphony, was lost during the war.

⁴⁶ Pauline Fairclough, in *A Soviet Credo: Shostakovich’s Fourth Symphony*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2006, xix, note 27, states that ‘the earliest of all the finale drafts, a seven-measure fragment (unrelated to anything in the published score), is dated 16 II 1936’. On page 30, note 83, she also says that rehearsals of the Fourth began two months *after* Shostakovich’s letter to Atovmyan dated 23 September 1936.

⁴⁷ Fairclough, p. 458; emphasis added.

⁴⁸ In his ‘Acknowledgments’, Brown mentions that Emerson ‘read through the entire collection with an expert, discerning eye’ and that Fay ‘encouraged and supported the editor throughout the conception and realization of the project. Without her, it simply could not have happened’.

⁴⁹ Brown, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 2.

“Memoirs”⁵⁰ Irina Nikolskaya agreed: ‘I asked everyone I interviewed about Solomon Volkov’s book, and the responses ranged all the way from utter rejection to wholehearted vindication’.⁵¹ Indeed, many of *Testimony*’s strongest supporters have been ‘Soviets and Russians’⁵², including Vladimir Ashkenazy,⁵³ Rudolf Barshai,⁵⁴ Rostislav Dubinsky,⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Kovnatskaya, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 98. This difference of opinion is understandable given what Dmitry Frederiks, Shostakovich’s nephew, observed:

I don’t think anyone could get to know him completely. He knew how to get on with people in such a way that it seemed he was opening up to them totally. This is why a lot of people now think they were among his close friends. However, perhaps the only person who was truly close to him — whom Shostakovich really allowed to know him — was Ivan Sollertinsky. After Sollertinsky died two other people were quite close to him, but not to the same extent. With other acquaintances — friends and so forth — he always ‘kept hidden the secrets of his heart’ and so seemed different from what he really was (Dmitri and Ludmilla Sollertinsky, *Pages from the Life of Dmitri Shostakovich*, transl. Graham Hobbs and Charles Midgley, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York and London, 1980, p. 209).

It should be mentioned that Volkov has never claimed that Shostakovich told him everything about himself or that *Testimony* portrays all aspects of the composer’s life and works, just that he wrote down whatever the composer related to him between 1971 and 1974: ‘What Shostakovich felt and thought at the time of the première of the Fifth Symphony I don’t know, you don’t know, he didn’t know at the time he dictated to me in *Testimony*. What is in *Testimony* is an expression of Shostakovich’s views and opinions at that time . . . a summary of his life . . . not a contemporary diary’ (‘Brave Words, Brave Music’, BBC Radio 3, 16 August 1998 (British Library catalogue number H10605/2; Mishra, p. 12). This timeframe also explains the absence in *Testimony* of comments about Shostakovich’s very last works. Had Volkov fabricated the memoirs, he could have easily added a few words about those compositions, too, to enhance the completeness of his text. Instead, he left Shostakovich’s life story incomplete, just where the composer himself left it in 1974.

⁵¹ Irina Nikolskaya, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 151.

⁵² ‘Russians’ not strictly from an ethnic standpoint, but in the sense of being from Russia (the cultural and legal heir of the Soviet Union).

⁵³ Ashkenazy wrote the ‘Overture’ to *Shostakovich Reconsidered* as well as the introduction to the 25th anniversary edition of *Testimony* itself, Limelight Editions, New York, 2004. The latter also appears in *DSCH Journal*, 22, January 2005, pp. 18–19. He remains a staunch defender of *Testimony* even after the publication of *A Shostakovich Casebook*. When asked in 2006 if the memoirs ‘ring true to you . . . Do you feel that this is the voice, that these are the genuine views of Shostakovich?’, he replied, ‘Absolutely. I don’t say that every word in it is authentic, but in content, it’s completely consistent with what we all knew he felt. [. . .] the authenticity of Volkov’s recollections is confirmed by very distinguished and well-known people who knew Shostakovich well over many years, and quite intimately, on both a professional and a social level. People in whom he would no doubt have confided, because he trusted them’ (Jeremy Siepmann, ‘With Shostakovich at the Piano’, *Piano*, 14/5, September-October 2006, p. 35). Fay, in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 45, dismisses Ashkenazy’s pro-*Testimony* opinion by noting that he met Shostakovich only ‘two or three times’ (which is, apparently, more contact than she herself ever had). She does not mention that Ashkenazy studied with Lev Oborin (1907–74), whose long and close relationship with the composer is amply documented in Wilson’s *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1994 (hereafter Wilson), and Fay’s own *Shostakovich: A Life*. Elsewhere, Eno Koço observes that Fay ‘very much questions not only the composer’s memoirs, as dictated to Volkov, but hardly trusts what other colleagues of Shostakovich said . . . [and thus] arrives at some odd conclusions’ (‘Shostakovich, Kadaré and the Nature of Dissidence: An Albanian View’, *Musical Times*, 146/1890, Spring 2005, pp. 59–60; hereafter Koço).

⁵⁴ Barshai repeated his endorsement of *Testimony* on numerous occasions. In an article once available on the Internet (‘Rudolf Barshai: A Russian Legend’; posted 10 September 2000), Benjamin Ivry asked him: ‘Do you believe that the controversial book of interviews with Shostakovich, *Testimony*, is a true depiction

Leonid Gakkel,⁵⁶ Kirill Kondrashin,⁵⁷ Lev Lebedinsky,⁵⁸ Gennady Rozhdestvensky,⁵⁹ Rodion Shchedrin,⁶⁰ Yuri Temirkanov,⁶¹ Arkady Vaksberg,⁶² Yevgeny Yevtushenko,⁶³

of the composer's life and creative views?' Barshai responded: 'This book generated great controversy precisely because of the fact that it is all true. It is also a fact that the truth doesn't always rest easily with everyone'. Per Skans, in an email to the authors of 3 November 2002, noted that 'Rudolf Barshai told me a fortnight ago that he still, after more than twenty years, sees no reason to change his mind [about *Testimony*]'. This is confirmed in interviews from the mid-1980s to 2005 titled 'Barshai on Shostakovich' in *DSCH Newsletter*, 5, 1988, p. 7, and in *DSCH Journal*, 34, January 2011, pp. 57 and 60: 'Without a doubt — whatever was written in these memoirs — it is the truth. I can hear the authentic voice of Shostakovich' (p. 7); 'I knew Shostakovich to be the same person as was written about in the piece [*Testimony*]' (p. 57).

⁵⁵ Brown, in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 334, mentions Dubinsky and his wife in the 1980s asking Maxim Shostakovich about his opinion of *Testimony*. He does not mention that Dubinsky, one of Brown's own colleagues at Indiana University, had voiced his own endorsement of the memoirs in 'The Interior Shostakovich', a statement read at a conference organized by Bucknell University, 9 September 1980 (*DSCH Journal*, 8, Winter 1997, p. 22, and *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 64, note 59, and 258):

In his music of course, Shostakovich spoke out with exhaustive thoroughness. Still, we needed more. I, for one, saw Shostakovich's image as incomplete. But the circle has closed with the publication of *Testimony*, an invaluable addition to the music of Shostakovich.

When I read *Testimony* I saw Shostakovich himself. I saw him behind every sentence, heard the characteristic manner of his nervous, jagged conversation, always carrying a subtext. Usually, authors try to show themselves in a better light. I do not find that in *Testimony*. Shostakovich talks about events to which he was an eyewitness.

He was not a writer. This is evident in *Testimony* and gives the book a unique colouring. We feel and sense the tension of the times in which he lived, through an intricate continuum of sharp, shrewd scenes.

Testimony clears up many things for anyone who wants to have a more profound understanding of Shostakovich and his music. For once in his life, Shostakovich wanted to tell the truth without adulteration. He told it, and let us be grateful to him for it.

Dubinsky also recalled Volkov telling him and other members of the Borodin Quartet in 1974 that 'Shostakovich had "started talking", and that he [Volkov] would carefully write everything down, then they would get together again the next morning, Shostakovich would read and approve it, and so forth' (conversation between Dubinsky and the authors, 28 April 1997).

⁵⁶ Recently, Leonid Gakkel', a highly respected authority on the history of pianism and a professor at the Leningrad Conservatory, where Shostakovich taught and Volkov studied, commented on Sviatoslav Richter's last interview: 'I am talking about Richter's *truth* about events and people; he angrily, sarcastically, annoyingly — depends on the context — challenges the untruths of silence and platitudes; all this reminds me a lot about *Testimony* of Shostakovich (published by S. Volkov), the authenticity of which I no longer doubt — so characteristic is it for a Russian-Soviet artist to collect "angry reminiscences" and desire to express them'.

⁵⁷ Gerald Abraham, 'The Citizen Composer', *The Times Literary Supplement*, 4 June 1982, p. 609.

⁵⁸ Cf. Nikolskaya's interview with Lebedinsky in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 171–73.

⁵⁹ Rozhdestvensky quotes Shostakovich's 'very words' (i.e., from *Testimony*) at the end of 'The Red Baton', a 2004 documentary included in Bruno Monsaingeon's *Notes interdites*, DVD, Idéale Audience International 3073498, 2008.

⁶⁰ Shchedrin contributed the statement reproduced on the back of the dust jacket of *Shostakovich Reconsidered*. He confirmed his support for *Testimony* in 1998 to Irwin Weil, while working with the latter to prepare a lecture on his music for a concert by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. Weil reported in an email to the authors, 7 October 1998: 'Shchedrin did mention Volkov's *Testimony*, with high praise. He obviously is on your side. As you undoubtedly know, he succeeded Shostakovich as head of the Composers' Union. Shchedrin's father also worked as a secretary to Shostakovich'.

Vladimir Zak,⁶⁴ and Daniil Zhitomirsky.⁶⁵ As noted in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. pp. 76–84 and 110–14, even the composer’s immediate family does not agree, with Maxim and Galina being much more positive towards the memoirs and Volkov than is Irina.

⁶¹ Tim Page, in ‘From Russia with Aplomb; Yuri Temirkanov, Deftly Wielding the Baltimore Baton’, *The Washington Post*, 18 April 1999, p. G01, notes that ‘Temirkanov worked regularly with Shostakovich for several years, and conducted many of the composer’s works in his presence. “Yes, we met very often”, he [Temirkanov] grudgingly allowed. “I even have some letters. He was an amazing man. All of the other people I’ve met who were big and important knew it and showed it off. Shostakovich was embarrassed by his greatness”. Page continues: ‘There are still a handful of Russian music “experts” who cast aspersions on Shostakovich’s dictated memoirs, the *Testimony*, smuggled out of the Soviet Union in 1979 by Solomon Volkov and generally recognized as one of the most significant cultural documents of the 20th century for its representation of Stalinism and the effect it had on several generations of artists. “It is ridiculous, really, to question that book”, Temirkanov said. “At least half of it I heard from Shostakovich himself. I saw proofs of the book before its first edition, with his initials on them”. Even after Brown’s *Shostakovich Casebook* was published in 2004, Termirkanov remained a staunch supporter of *Testimony*: ‘Temirkanov has no doubts [about the memoirs’ veracity]. “In the end, it is the truth”, he said firmly. “There are many stories in the book that Shostakovich told me himself. Again and again, I recognize his voice” (Tim Page, ‘Maestro Stepping Down on a Melancholy Note’, *The Washington Post*, 27 May 2006, C04).

⁶² Vaksberg, author of *Stalin Against the Jews*, wrote to Per Skans on 29 March 2000: ‘Je connais très bien Solomon Volkov et je suis sur que ces conversations avec Chostakovitch publiées dans le livre bien connu sont authentiques. [. . .] Solomon est un homme très honnête, aucune publication falsifiée pour lui n’est pas possible’. (‘I know Solomon Volkov very well and I am certain that these conversations with Shostakovich that were published in the well-known book are authentic. [. . .] Solomon is a very honest man, it is not possible for him to publish a falsification’.)

⁶³ “Everything I heard from Shostakovich is absolutely one on one” with what’s in *Testimony*, says Mr. Yevtushenko. “I heard at least half [of what’s in the book] from Shostakovich”, Mr. Temirkanov agrees. “He was nervous, always nervous”, Mr. Yevtushenko says of Shostakovich. “Always filling water glasses”, Mr. Temirkanov adds, pantomiming. “God will forgive me”, Mr. Yevtushenko says Shostakovich told him, “because I don’t lie in music, only in words”. Once, Mr. Yevtushenko says, he sat with Shostakovich while Khrushchev gave a speech against freedom in the arts. Shostakovich bent over a note pad, writing constantly. “I’m pretending to take notes”, he said, “so as not to have to applaud” (Greg Sandow, ‘A Russian Poet Offers His Take On the Real Shostakovich’, *The Wall Street Journal*, 31 October 2000, p. A24). Still more recently, Yevtushenko has described Volkov as the ‘Eckermann of Shostakovich, who helped our much-suffering genius to rid himself of the official image imposed upon him and finally open up his soul before mankind at a time when he himself shielded it with various panegyrics to the Party, signed by him’ (‘In the Beginning was the Word. . .’, *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, 22–23 Nov. 2008, p. 16).

⁶⁴ Cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 504–5.

⁶⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 177, note 233; 240, and 259. The list continues to grow. According to Denis Plutalov (email to Allan Ho, 23 February 2003), Edward Babasian, a senior editor of the State Music Publishers, ‘insisted on the authenticity of the book’, and Edvard Tchivel voiced his own support in ‘Edvard Tchivel on the Mravinsky School’, *DSCH Journal*, 15, July 2001, p. 47:

DSCH: ‘So *Testimony* rings true for you, does it?’

ET: ‘It does, because if you really know and if you really believe in the music of Shostakovich, such as the Eighth and the Tenth Symphonies — and *Rayok* for example then the kind of person who is portrayed in *Testimony* is the same person who could never publicly reveal just what was in his mind and his heart when he wrote these works. This was a question of survival you know — not only for himself but for his family too. And of course this is reflected in his wish that the book be published only after his death’.

It is also worth noting, though Brown does not do so, that the statements of individual Russians and Soviets, such as Maxim Shostakovich⁶⁶ and Mstislav Rostropovich, have changed over time. As Dr. Seppo Heikinheimo notes in his ‘Decade of Struggle About Authenticity’, he allowed Rostropovich to read the Russian text and the latter said ‘one can very clearly hear Shostakovich’s own voice in the memoirs’.⁶⁷ Later Rostropovich became more critical, questioning the authenticity of *Testimony* ‘when it speaks disdainfully about the creative imagination of Prokofiev’.⁶⁸ However, as we demonstrated in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, the composer’s views of Prokofiev did change over time, as mentioned in *Testimony* itself and now corroborated elsewhere.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 84–114.

⁶⁷ Seppo Heikinheimo, ‘Kymmenen vuotta aitouskiistaa’ (‘A Decade of Struggle about Authenticity’), *Dmitri Šostakovitšin muistelmat*, 2nd edn., Otava, Helsinki, 1989, pp. 351–52. In his own memoirs, *Mätämunan muistelmat (Memoirs by an Asshole)*, Otava, Helsinki, 1997, p. 329 (hereafter *Mätämunan muistelmat*), Heikinheimo elaborates:

I cannot recall anymore when it was that I made friends with Mstislav Rostropovich but during the years he became a sincere friend of mine. In the Russian mode, he had naturally hundreds of acquaintances, but I was happy to have a place near the end of the queue. [. . .]

Slava remembered me best probably because of the fact that I once happened to ask him in Helsinki if he would be interested in reading ‘Dmitri Shostakovich’s memoirs’ [*Testimony*] in Russian, as edited by Solomon Volkov. More about them below. It was a very hot book in those days but it hasn’t ever been published in the original language because our Russian neighbor could not afford to pay for the rights to the American publisher. As a Finnish translator of the book, I had a photocopy of the Russian manuscript.

It appeared that Rostropovich very eagerly wished to read the memoirs. At that time, he hardly knew any Western language, so he hadn’t been able to read the book in which there’s one page of very laudatory text about him, too. I took the manuscript to his hotel for him. It affected his playing next evening, because he hadn’t had time for a minute’s sleep the previous night (transl. by Lång).

⁶⁸ Brown, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 4.

⁶⁹ On Shostakovich’s changing views of Prokofiev, cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 91–105. The relationship seems to have soured in part because of Prokofiev’s jealousy over awards. Prokofiev’s *Semyon Kotko* and film music to Eisenstein’s *Alexander Nevsky* were both overlooked for Stalin Prizes whereas Shostakovich received Stalin Prizes First Class for his Piano Quintet and Seventh Symphony (cf. Solomon Volkov, *Shostakovich and Stalin*, transl. Antonina W. Bouis, pp. 193–94; hereafter Volkov). However, friction was evident still earlier:

In 1934 Alexei Tolstoi invited Prokofiev and Shostakovich to lunch at his house, along with a large group of the Leningrad cultural elite. After coffee, the host asked Prokofiev to play the Scherzo [sic] and Gavotte from his ‘Classical’ Symphony. Prokofiev was a magnificent pianist. The guests were thrilled, especially Shostakovich, who exclaimed, ‘It’s wonderful! Just delightful!’ Then, Shostakovich played his First Piano Concerto. Now it was Prokofiev’s turn to express his opinion. ‘Well, what can I say?’ he began (as Dmitri Tolstoi told it), crossing his legs and draping his arm over the back of his chair. ‘This work seemed immature to me, rather formless. As for the material, the concerto seems stylistically too motley for me. And not in very good taste’. After those remarks, Tolstoi said, Shostakovich ran out of the house, crying, ‘Prokofiev is a bastard and scoundrel! He no longer exists for me!’ As Tolstoi has it, for a time Shostakovich would not allow Prokofiev’s name to be mentioned in his presence. Eventually, superficial decorum was re-established, but the deep crack in the relationship of the two great composers remained.

Rostropovich's criticism of *Testimony* was always narrowly directed, as Fay herself observed, 'focus[ing] on specific errors of fact rather than on its fundamental authenticity'.⁷⁰ In addition, one wonders if the falling out between Rostropovich and Volkov over the latter's refusal to help prepare Galina Vishnevskaya's memoirs (*Galina: A Russian Story*, New York, 1984; written with assistance from other ghostwriters) later colored Rostropovich's attitude towards both Volkov and *Testimony*.⁷¹ Rostropovich's little-known proposal that Volkov work on this project is documented in a handwritten letter of August 1977 (*cf.* the facsimile on p. 16):

Dear Solomon! First, many thanks for your essay — I read it and turned bright red — you praised me way too much. But it is written, what can I say, superbly! Now I am spending a month in Switzerland, and on September 22 will fly back to Washington, where I will stay until November 20. If you want and if you have time — please come to any of the concerts; a few things might be interesting. From Moscow we received the entire archive of Galina Pavlovna — lots of interesting things. I am very interested in publishing a book about her, and I, of course, will help you in every way. I would imagine you know that they blacked out (not crossed out!!!) her from all books regarding the Bolshoi. Just think how interesting was her life! The book, I think, should contain many illustrations, and also some letters to her by Dmitry Dmitriyevich Shostakovich, Britten, and others. Perhaps Chagall could do a cover for it. In Paris two persons offered themselves to do the book about Galya, but I refused them, and said that you are already writing it. If anyone asks you — do not betray me.

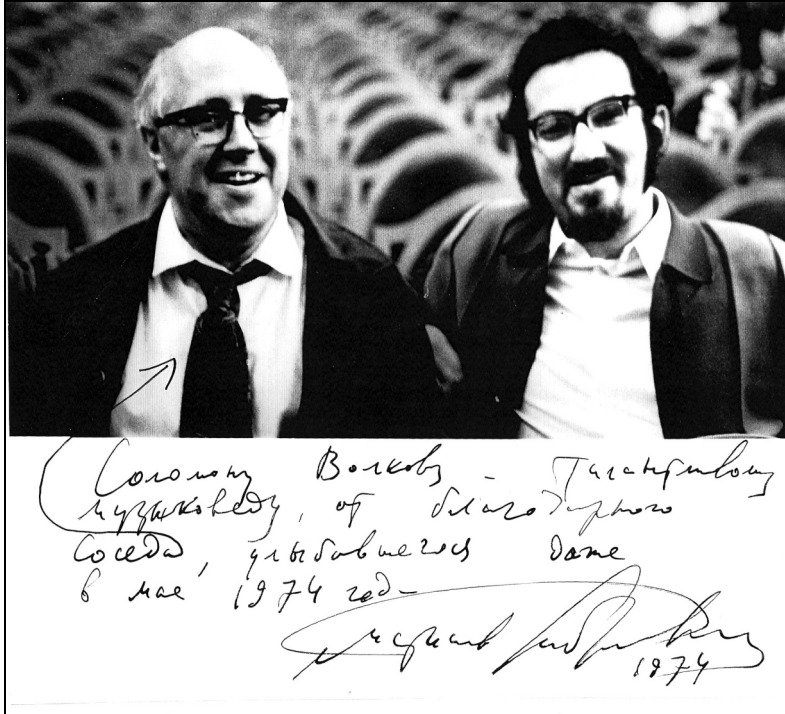
One English-language publishing house wants to do a book about Soviet music. They asked me — I recommended you. Soon you will receive a letter with an offer. Just in case my address and telephone in Switzerland: M.R. c/o Paul Sacher SCHÖNENBERG CH 4133 PRATTELN SWITZERLAND. Telephone: Basil 81-51-00. Best regards to your wife.

Yours, M. Rostropovich

That Shostakovich could also be critical of Prokofiev's music is evident in his letter of 23 January 1941 to Boleslav Yavorsky: 'Yesterday for the second time heard the Requiem of Berlioz. It is a great work. Recently heard *Alexander Nevsky* of Prokofiev. It is not a great work' (*Dmitry Shostakovich: v pis'makh i dokumentakh* ('Dmitry Shostakovich: in Letters and Documents'), I. Bobykina (ed.), RIF 'Antikva', Moscow, 2000, p. 129).

⁷⁰ Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 46.

⁷¹ Reported earlier in 'Musiikkikierrros: Solomon Volkov kiistojen kohteena' ('Musical Circuit: Solomon Volkov as the Target of Controversy'), *Helsingin Sanomat*, 6 March 1990, p. B8, where Heikinheimo says that Vishnevskaya blamed Volkov in *Knizhnoye obozreniye*, February 1990, for putting out gossip 'that the whole of Moscow knew' about the Shostakovich memoirs. 'He should be ashamed', Galina continued. She also thought that the whole business smelled of money. Volkov answered to Heikinheimo that this was because he wouldn't help Galina in the writing of her own memoirs.



Mstislav Rostropovich and Solomon Volkov, 1974, Moscow, inscribed 'For Solomon Volkov, a talented musicologist, from a thankful neighbor, who smiled even in May 1974 [when the Rostropoviches were exiled from the USSR]. Mstislav Rostropovich, 1974'.



Mstislav Rostropovich and Solomon Volkov, 1978, New York.

If Rostropovich truly believed that Volkov would forge Shostakovich's memoirs and distort the composer's views, would he have asked him to help with his own wife's autobiography? We think not. Indeed, their more positive earlier relationship is evident in their correspondence, in photographs such as those on page 17, and by the fact that Rostropovich had at one time agreed to work with Volkov on the cellist's own authentic life story.⁷²

Rostropovich's wildly shifting positions on *Testimony* (and Volkov) are not only inconsistent, but blatantly contradictory. In an interview in 2006, he claimed that 'he had never even read *Testimony*',⁷³ despite commenting on it for more than two decades! This statement is called into question not only by Heikinheimo's vivid recollection of loaning Rostropovich his copy of the Russian text around 4 December 1979, when the latter played Schumann's Cello Concerto in Helsinki,⁷⁴ but by Vishnevskaya, who in 1980 stated that *she* 'read this book [*Testimony*] in manuscript in the Russian language, in Paris'.⁷⁵ Are we to believe that Vishnevskaya read the Russian text and that her husband did not? Are we to believe that Rostropovich, who considered Shostakovich 'the most important man in my life, after my father',⁷⁶ was not champing at the bit to read these memoirs? Are we to believe that Rostropovich, for two decades, was commenting on a book he had never read? Recall Rostropovich's own statement in 1998 about *Testimony* ('When I *read* the rubbish written by Solomon Volkov [. . .]'⁷⁷) and his interview with

⁷² An example of their collaboration is the 1978 interview 'O Sergey Sergeyevice i Dmitry Dmitriyeviche: interv'iu s Mstislavom Rostropovichem' ('About Sergey Sergeyeovich and Dmitry Dmitriyevich: Interview with Mstislav Rostropovich'), *Chast' rechi: al'manakh literatury i iskusstva*, 2–3, 1981–82, pp. 254–62, later reprinted in *Znamiya*, 1, 1990, pp. 220–26. For a translation, cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 359–72.

⁷³ Eichler, p. 2.1.

⁷⁴ In Heikinheimo's 'Rostropovitsh puhui suunsa puhtaaksi: "Hrennikov vei Prokofjevin enneaikaiseen hautaan"' ('Rostropovich Spoke Out: Khrennikov Drove Prokofiev to the Grave Prematurely'), *Helsingin Sanomat*, 5 December 1979, p. 21, Rostropovich states:

Unfortunately I can't express any opinion about the book [*Testimony*] because I haven't read it. I don't know English well enough and haven't been able to get the Russian-language edition in my hands. But I would wonder if Shostakovich could have given all his secrets to Volkov, because he [Shostakovich] loved his family very much and guessed that it [the family] could easily get into troubles if he were to speak out. [. . .] I do know Volkov from New York and outside he doesn't seem a crook.

Soon after this interview, which was probably conducted on 4 December 1979, Heikinheimo took his copy of the Russian text to Rostropovich's hotel and the latter stayed up all night reading it (cf. note 67 above).

⁷⁵ Bella Ezerskaya, 'Trepet i muki aktyora: interv'iu s Galinoi Vishnevskoi' ('The Trembling and Torments of an Actor: Interview with Galina Vishnevskaya'), *Vremya i my*, 50, 1980, pp. 160–61; transl. in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 44.

⁷⁶ Eichler, p. 2.1.

⁷⁷ Manashir Yakubov, *Shostakovich 1906–1975*, program notes for the London Symphony Orchestra's Shostakovich series, 1998, transl. Jenefer Coates, p. 19, emphasis added (hereafter Yakubov). Rostropovich's other remarks also include sufficient detail to indicate that, contrary to his 2006 statement, he had, indeed, read the memoirs (cf. *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 45). When Vishnevskaya was asked in 2009 about Rostropovich's earlier statement to *Helsingin Sanomat* that the memoirs were authentic, she too confirmed that he was familiar with the memoirs: 'My husband was a very impulsive man. When he got to know Volkov's book better, he of course changed his mind' (Sirén, 'Lesket tuomitsevat Volkovin kirjaamat muistelmat' ('The widows condemn the memoirs written down by Volkov', p. C 1).

Seppo Heikinheimo in 1980, about which the latter wrote: ‘It is no wonder that he [Rostropovich] says he was profoundly shattered after reading, after his Helsinki visit, the memoirs in Russian: there is a complete page dedicated to his many-sided talents’. Heikinheimo then reports that although Rostropovich doesn’t want to talk too much about the controversy over how authentic the memoirs are, ‘It is beyond any suspicion, like for every other Russian émigré musician I have met who knew Shostakovich very well’. When Rostropovich was asked why he would not comment publicly about the memoirs, he responded that ‘he thinks above all of the very delicate situation of Maxim Shostakovich’.⁷⁸ This remark is most revealing. Only if Rostropovich had something *positive* to say about *Testimony* would Maxim’s position in the USSR have been jeopardized. If he went along with Soviet authorities and denounced *Testimony*, his comment would have had no impact on Maxim whatsoever.

The notion that the anti-*Testimony* view voiced by Irina Shostakovich, Boris Tishchenko, and others ‘had not been made readily available because of language’ is pure fantasy. Until *Shostakovich Reconsidered* was published, the predominant view of *Testimony* was that expounded by official Soviet sources, and by Fay, Taruskin, and Brown — all against Volkov and the memoirs. It would have been remarkable, indeed, given the musicological clout held by Taruskin, if these critical voices could in any way have been stifled. After all, Fay and Taruskin are regular contributors to *The New York Times*, one of the most widely read newspapers in the world. Taruskin and Brown (until his retirement) have presided over two of the leading musicology programs in the USA focusing on Russian music research (the University of California, Berkeley, and Indiana University) and David Fanning holds a similar position in England at Manchester University. Fay has published extensively on Shostakovich and has presented papers on the composer throughout the world. And who contributed the articles on Shostakovich in the standard encyclopedias? Richard Taruskin (the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, online, and *The Oxford History of Western Music*, 2005), Malcolm H. Brown (*Grolier's Multimedia Encyclopedia*, 1995), and David Fanning (*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2001 and online).

Brown also distorts the facts when he writes:

In fairness to the authors of *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, their book provides examples of the ‘Soviet or Russian point of view’ but only when it supports their arguments for the authenticity of *Testimony*. A range of contrary perspectives is not represented.⁷⁹

‘In fairness’? This statement is blatantly false. We quote extensively from ‘Pitiful Forgery’ (the letter of denunciation in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*) and the ‘Bedbug’ editorial that accompanied it, both of which Brown includes in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, as well as many other harsh criticisms of *Testimony* and Volkov over two decades of

⁷⁸ Seppo Heikinheimo, ‘Rostropovitsh ja Mutter soittivat 6000 kuulijalle: Suurmestari ja ihmelapsi’ (‘Rostropovich and Mutter Played for 6000 Listeners: The Great Master and the Prodigy’), *Helsingin Sanomat*, 20 January 1980, p. 15.

⁷⁹ Brown, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 2.

controversy.⁸⁰ It is only after quoting these that we provide the rebuttal evidence that Brown and others have refused to report because it does not support their position.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 36, 52–54, 60–62 (‘Pitiful Forgery’ and ‘The Bedbug’), 68, 72–76, and 84–110. The following also was stated by Allan Ho at the Shostakovich session at the Mannes College of Music, 15 February 1999; cf. the complete transcript on the Internet at <<http://www.siue.edu/~aho/musov/man/mannes.html>> (hereafter Shostakovich session):

As maestro Ashkenazy said, what we’re interested in is the truth. And I want to make clear that we never started out in this book to praise Volkov. In fact, we wrote the complete article and then showed it to Solomon Volkov. Dmitry and I had an agreement from the start that whatever we found — [even] if we found conclusively that *Testimony* was a fraud — that’s what our book would be [about]. [. . .] when Solomon Volkov first read the book, he made two comments. The first was ‘Do you have to repeat all those negative things that people have said about me?’ And it’s quite overwhelming. No one can accuse us of leaving out very negative things that have been said about him. That was part of the official record. The other thing he said was that Fay, Taruskin, Brown, and even [he] himself are really insignificant in the big picture — that what’s important is the truth about Shostakovich. And that changed the thrust of our book. Initially we were just responding to the allegations. You know, it would have worked out better for me, as a card-carrying musicologist, if I had attacked Solomon, because that’s how Laurel Fay became known as a Shostakovich expert. I was very skeptical, and Dmitry can confirm this. And, in fact, you may be surprised to know that the first time I met Solomon in person was last night, because I did not want to be viewed as a friend of Solomon Volkov. We corresponded, we spoke on the phone, but it was important to me, as a musicologist with a reputation of my own to defend, that I had to look at this thing objectively. For six years, I worked on this [*Shostakovich Reconsidered*]. I was initially convinced by Laurel Fay’s article, which I took at face value. I had to be persuaded myself.

⁸¹ Brown’s own selective scholarship is evident repeatedly in *A Shostakovich Casebook*. For example, on p. 257 he states that Ian MacDonald ‘acknowledges that musicologist Laurel Fay proved conclusively that Volkov lied about how he put *Testimony* together’, then on the next page quotes his statement about *Testimony* from 1990: ‘the detective work of Laurel Fay . . . has established beyond doubt that the [Volkov] book is a dishonest presentation’. However, he does not quote any of MacDonald’s later statements. In August 1995, MacDonald noted: ‘Were I to revise *The New Shostakovich*, I would certainly alter or eliminate those observations on *Testimony* [in my book]’ (*Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 117, note 8). Moreover, in an interview available at the ‘Music Under Soviet Rule’ website since summer 1998 and later published posthumously in *DSCJ Journal*, 20, January 2004, p. 25, one finds: ‘You say in *The New Shostakovich* that “*Testimony* is a realistic picture of Dmitri Shostakovich — it just isn’t a genuine one”. Do you stand by that?’ IM: ‘No. Allan and Dmitry have blown that one to smithereens’. MacDonald’s changed position is further evident in the latest edition of *The New Shostakovich*, Pimlico, London, 2006, pp. 8–9, revised by Raymond Clarke based on the author’s written documents (hereafter MacDonald, *The New Shostakovich*, rev. edn.). The following appears immediately after his original words:

[. . .] after the collapse of the USSR in 1991, many former Soviet citizens who had known Shostakovich were able to speak freely and most of them supported *Testimony*. At a regional meeting of the American Musicological Society in Chicago, Illinois on 4 October 1997, Allan B. Ho and Dmitry Feofanov presented, for the first time, some of the new evidence assembled in their then forthcoming book *Shostakovich Reconsidered*. The book appeared in 1998, and its probing investigation of factors contingent upon the authenticity of *Testimony* and the veracity of its contents presented a convincing case for regarding the memoirs as genuine.

Clarke also mentions on p. xix that MacDonald wrote an introduction for the paperback edition of *The New Shostakovich* (issued in 1991) that ‘took a more positive view of Solomon Volkov’s participation in the preparation of *Testimony*’, but that ‘the new publisher, Oxford University Press [which much later would print Fay’s book], rejected the introduction and merely reprinted the original edition without one’.

2. Flora Litvinova and the ‘Smoking Gun’

In *Shostakovich Reconsidered* we called attention, for the first time, to an important piece of evidence that corroborates the genesis of *Testimony*. Included in Flora Litvinova’s reminiscences, written in the late 1980s⁸² for Elizabeth Wilson’s *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered* (1994), but not printed therein, is a statement from Shostakovich to Litvinova that is akin to the ‘smoking gun’ in a murder trial. Litvinova writes:

in the last years of his life we met rarely, and not for long, or accidentally. And once, at such a meeting, Dmitry Dmitryevich said: ‘You know, Flora, I met a wonderful young man — a Leningrad musicologist (he did not tell me his name — F. L.). This young man knows my music better than I do. Somewhere, he dug everything up, even my juvenilia’. I saw that this thorough study of his music pleased Shostakovich immensely. ‘We now meet constantly and I tell him everything I remember about my works and myself. He writes it down, and at a subsequent meeting I look it over’.⁸³

In an attempt to dismiss the importance of this evidence, Paul Mitchinson in *A Shostakovich Casebook* suggests that Shostakovich’s statement was not about *Testimony* at all, but about Volkov’s earlier book, *Young Composers of Leningrad*:

Litvinova wrote that her ‘last conversation (*razgovor*) with Dmitri Dmitrievich took place at the House of Creativity in Ruza in 1970 or 1971 [that is, *before* Volkov claims to have begun meeting with Shostakovich for *Testimony*]. He had returned from having treatment at Dr. Ilizarov’s clinic [in Kurgan]’. (Her final talk with the composer does not appear to have been the ‘smoking gun’ conversation, which must have taken place even earlier.) . . .

So what could Shostakovich have been talking about in his conversation with his old friend Flora Litvinova? Based on the likely timing of this conversation — the late 1960s — I speculate that it could have had something to do with the preface Shostakovich wrote for

Still other examples of Brown’s selective scholarship are easy to find: he quotes Maxim Shostakovich up to 1991, but omits his more recent statements in favor of *Testimony* and Volkov; he reprints only positive reviews of Fay’s book and only critical ones of *Shostakovich Reconsidered* and *The New Shostakovich*; he includes Fanning’s response to Allan Ho’s AMS paper (1998), but does not reproduce the paper itself, which was highly critical of Fay and Brown for, ironically, their selective reporting of evidence. For proper context, we reproduce Ho’s complete paper as well as his response to Fanning’s remarks on pp. 261–71 below.

⁸² Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 54.

⁸³ Flora Litvinova, ‘Vspominaya Shostakovicha’ (‘Remembering Shostakovich’), *Znamya*, 12, December 1996, pp. 168–69; first translated in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 251.

Volkov's first book, *Molodye kompozitory Leningrada* [Young Leningrad Composers] (Leningrad: Sovetskii kompozitor, 1971). Volkov claims that the original preface was autobiographical in nature and based heavily on the composer's recollections of his youth. Litvinova has Shostakovich referring to his 'youthful compositions' (*detskie sochinenie* [sic]⁸⁴) in his conversations with the unnamed musicologist.

My theory is not airtight. Shostakovich allegedly told Litvinova that they met 'constantly' and talked about 'everything' (Volkov told me he could not remember how many times he met with Shostakovich while preparing the preface to *Young Leningrad Composers*). But it seems to me a more convincing explanation of Litvinova's account than the alternatives.⁸⁵

In fact, Mitchinson distorts what Volkov has said about the Preface to *Young Composers of Leningrad*. Volkov never claimed that 'the original preface was autobiographical in nature'. Here is the passage in *Testimony*:

I wrote to Shostakovich with a request for a preface. He replied at once, 'I'll be happy to meet with you', and suggested a time and place. According to my plan, Shostakovich would write about the ties between the young Leningraders and the Petersburg school of composition. At our meeting I began talking to him about his own youth, and at first met with some resistance. He preferred to talk about his students.⁸⁶

Mitchinson also says that 'Litvinova has Shostakovich referring to his "youthful compositions" (*detskie sochinenie*) in his conversations with the unnamed musicologist', thereby linking this to Shostakovich's statement that 'I tell him everything I remember about my works and myself'. But Shostakovich never mentions discussing his 'youthful compositions' (*cf.* the exact quotation above); he merely expresses surprise that the musicologist was already aware of them.

Still more shocking is the fact that Mitchinson, a historian with a doctorate from Harvard University, is content merely to 'speculate' on the meaning of Litvinova's text, even if, in his own words, his theory is 'not airtight'. In fact, Mitchinson's speculation (1) has been rejected by Litvinova herself and (2) is, by his own admission, inconsistent with the actual statement. Immediately after Mitchinson first aired his theory in *Lingua Franca*, Dmitry Feofanov telephoned Litvinova on 22 April 2000 to inquire if Shostakovich's statement about meeting 'constantly' with 'a young Leningrad

⁸⁴ This Russian phrase mixes plural and singular, and should be 'detskie sochineniya'.

⁸⁵ Paul Mitchinson, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 320–21, note 33.

⁸⁶ Volkov, Preface to *Testimony*, p. xiv. Mitchinson further distorts Volkov's words in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 305: 'Unfortunately, Volkov says, the Soviet censor expunged these *biographical details* when the book was published in 1971' (emphasis added). He cites *Testimony*, p. xv, but here is the actual passage: 'Shostakovich's preface had been cut severely, and it dealt only with the present — there were no reminiscences'. Clearly, Shostakovich's expunged 'reminiscences' need not have been limited to 'biographical details' of his own life.

musicologist' might refer instead to their earlier collaboration on the preface to *Young Composers of Leningrad*, given that her last 'conversation' with Shostakovich was, according to her memoirs, in 1970 or 1971. Litvinova stated that she believes the reference was to work on *Testimony* and that it was made in 1972–74. Moreover, she confirmed that, contrary to Mitchinson's interpretation of her text, she *did* speak with Shostakovich after 1970–71 and visited him when he was sick, at his apartment. In a lengthy footnote, Mitchinson quotes Feofanov's letter to the editor of *Lingua Franca*, summarizing the main points of his conversation with Litvinova.⁸⁷ He concludes, however, that 'Feofanov's letter should be treated with some caution. [. . .] Nevertheless, there is still the possibility that he has accurately quoted and represented what Litvinova told him over the phone'.⁸⁸

If Mitchinson has any doubts about Litvinova's statements to Dmitry Feofanov concerning the seemingly contradictory testimony in her memoirs or about his own less than airtight theory, why, one wonders, has he not contacted her for himself? He provides two reasons:

(1) Lawyers traditionally place greater weight on a witness's earlier testimony, for good reason — witnesses often incorporate what they have heard or read much later into their earlier memories. A case in point: Litvinova allegedly told Feofanov, 'I understood it [her conversation with Shostakovich] to be referring to *Testimony*'. This is unlikely, since *Testimony* was not published until 1979 — many years after the conversation took place.

(2) Given the vivid and precise character of her published testimony, I find it unnecessary to subject Flora Pavlovna, now eighty-one, to any further 'cross-examination'.⁸⁹

Even Mitchinson must know that memoirs are never error-free and that sometimes readers find mistakes and contradictions that were not perceived even by their authors (*cf.* note 545 below). Therefore, to rule out contacting Litvinova (a living witness) merely on the presumption that her memory was better in the late 1980s than ten years later is not only highly questionable, but a most curious methodology for a historian. Indeed, given Litvinova's advanced age, one would think that Mitchinson

⁸⁷ First published in *Lingua Franca*, 10/8, November 2000, pp. 7 and 64. Also *cf.* Mitchinson, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 321, note 33:

[Dmitry Feofanov:] I called Flora Pavlovna Litvinova and asked her whether her statement referred to a conversation with Shostakovich before work on *Testimony* had begun (1971) or after [. . .]. Her answer — 'I ran into Shostakovich here and there until his death. The conversation in question could have taken place in 1972, or 1973, or 1974'. Question: Do you think Shostakovich was referring to *Testimony* or some other work he did with Volkov? Answer: 'I understood it to be referring to *Testimony*'.

⁸⁸ Mitchinson, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 321, note 33.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 322, note 33.

would want to contact her *sooner* rather than later.⁹⁰ The word ‘understood’, which Mitchinson also questions above, is merely a reference to her understanding at the time she penned her reminiscences, and hence is in the past tense. At the time Shostakovich mentioned his meetings with ‘a young Leningrad musicologist’, clearly she had no idea that *Testimony* was in progress nor that Volkov was the musicologist. Finally, if Mitchinson truly believes that the ‘precise character of [Litvinova’s] published testimony’ makes any ‘cross-examination’ unnecessary, why did he say that his theory is ‘not airtight’ and, in an email to Allan Ho, express still other doubts:

This is a dev[i]lishly *uncertain* issue, and almost no aspect of it has an unambiguous import, as I’m sure you know. . . . But the Litvinova issue is an interesting one — I would have loved to have gone on at length about it in my article, but it was simply too technical a point. Let me elaborate somewhat, since this was my theory entirely, which came to me while I was painstakingly trying to establish a timeline of Volkov’s meetings, Litvinova’s recollections, etc. [. . .] *I thought and thought* about Litvinova’s quote, and *it trouble[d] me for days*. But she says that her ‘last’ conversation with DDS took place in 1970 or 1971 [. . .]. But in SR Volkov states that his meetings for *Testimony* began in 1971 [. . .]. *So Litvinova must be wrong about something*. The phrase ‘detskie sochineniia’ really jumped out at me when I was reading Litvinova — this sounded like what Volkov was talking to DDS about for Young Leningrad Composers rather than for *Testimony*. Then there is the issue of Litvinova saying that DDS told her that he and Volkov met, then at the next meeting he would go over it with Volkov to approve it, or something like that. But that doesn’t fit Volkov’s description of [T]estimony — he talks about his ‘mounds of shorthand notes’, which he slowly shaped into a manuscript. What DDS approved was the manuscript, which couldn’t have been put together in early 1971! *Of course there are problems to this theory — they’re too obvious to mention.*⁹¹

What are these problems, too obvious to mention? First, the published Preface to *Young Composers of Leningrad* is only two pages long (*cf.* the facsimile below). Even if quite a bit of material was cut, it is unlikely that this collaboration would have required ‘constant’ meetings.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 322, note 33, acknowledges that Allan Ho, in a post on DSCH-list in January 2002 <<http://listserv.uh.edu/cgi-bin/wa?A2=ind0201&L=dSCH-l&P=R8146>>, suggested that he contact Litvinova. He does not mention that the same suggestion was made directly to him two years earlier in an email of 24 April 2000. This is even referred to at the beginning of Ho’s DSCH-list posting, but was excised from Mitchinson’s article:

[Allan Ho:] After Mitchinson’s Shostakovich article first appeared in *Lingua franca* in May/June 2000, I emailed him to say that he should have contacted Litvinova personally before publishing his own theory of what she was recalling. He responded not by asking for Litvinova’s phone number, which Dmitry Feofanov or I could have provided him, but by breaking off email contact and asking me never to communicate with him again!

⁹¹ Email from Mitchinson to Ho, 24 April 2000; emphasis added.

Facsimile of Shostakovich's preface to Volkov's 'Young Composers of Leningrad' that Mitchinson suggests required the composer to meet constantly with Volkov.

ЗДРАВСТВУЙ, ПЛЕМЯ МЛАДОЕ

Д. Д. ШОСТАКОВИЧ
ДОСТОЙНАЯ СМЕНА

О музыке трудно говорить, слова бледны и бедны по сравнению с нею. Кроме того, это скорее дело музыковедов. Но все же хочется сказать хотя бы несколько слов о талантливой ленинградской композиторской молодежи.

Не всех молодых композиторов из числа тех, о ком идет речь в этой книге, я знаю. Поэтому остановлюсь на творчестве трех композиторов постарше, чья музыка мне хорошо известна. Это Геннадий Белов, Валерий Гаврилин и Борис Тищенко.

Геннадий Белов — талантливый человек, серьезно относящийся к своему призванию. Мне нравится, что Белов, несмотря на молодость, крепко владеет своим искусством и много пишет. Это разносторонний композитор. Отлично вышла у него «Хоровая сюита» на слова Александра Твардовского, выделяется своим размахом очень интересная опера «Девяносто третий год». Я с нетерпением жду, когда эта опера пойдет на сцене театра. Вообще, музыку Белова нужно шире пропагандировать, чаще исполнять. Меня радуют известия о том, что его «Ленинградская поэма» с успехом звучит в разных городах страны.

Большим дарованием обладает Валерий Гаврилин. Но, к моему огорчению, он мало внимания уделяет крупной форме. Стремление к широким полотнам, разумеется, не должно становиться самоцелью. А то нередко бывает и так: встречаешься с молодым композитором, ему едва за двадцать, а уж в портфеле четыре оперы, две симфонии... Но все же в крупной форме больше возможностей до конца раскрыть нечто важное, значительное. Я восхищаюсь и «Немецкой тетрадью», и «Русской тетрадью» Гаврилина, но мне кажется, что при его даровании мы вправе ожидать от этого автора более масштабных произведений.

Довольно давно знаю я Бориса Тищенко, композитора большого таланта. Он весь в музыке: осязательно знает и

старинных композиторов, и сочинения современных авторов, и народное творчество, прекрасно играет на рояле. Тищенко — человек, убежденный в правоте своего творчества. Мне нравится, что он так уверенно высказывается в разных жанрах. Много хорошей музыки в балете Тищенко «Двенадцать», очень сильное сочинение «Реквием» на слова Анны Ахматовой. Или взять, к примеру, Третий квартет, — по моему, это удивительный квартет.

Первый виолончельный концерт Тищенко я знаю наизусть. Я люблю все его сочинения, но хотелось бы выделить Третью симфонию, в которой привлекают насыщенная эмоциональность, ясность мысли, конструктивная логика. Радует, что Тищенко в своем творчестве антидогматичен: он не идет в «плен» ни к хроматике, ни к диатонике, ни к додекафонии, но свободно пользуется теми средствами, которые ему крайне необходимы в каждом данном случае.

Молодые ленинградские композиторы — по-настоящему талантливые и уже много сделавшие в искусстве люди. Мне кажется, что они достойно продолжают и развивают славные традиции ленинградской композиторской школы.

Although Volkov, when interviewed by Mitchinson, could not remember exactly how many meetings took place for the Preface, his statements in *Testimony* (1979) and to Galina Drubachevskaya (1992) make clear that he and Shostakovich did *not* meet 'constantly'. In the former Volkov states 'at our *meeting*' (singular; cf. p. 22 above), and in the latter: 'We had *several long talks*, after which I put the material together and sent it back to him for his approval'.⁹² Since Volkov was unaware of Litvinova's memoirs at this time, why would he under-report his collaboration with Shostakovich for *Young Composers of Leningrad*? He could have said 'we met constantly', to enhance his relationship. Moreover, as stated earlier, why would Shostakovich be speaking at length about his own works and life? *Young Composers of Leningrad* was not about Shostakovich, and was never a memoir.

If, on the other hand, we accept Litvinova's statement that Shostakovich told her about the young Leningrad musicologist between 1972 and 1974, then everything fits: the number of meetings, the content discussed, and the process used. Volkov has stated that he and Shostakovich met dozens of times between 1971 and 1974, hence

⁹² *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 319.

Shostakovich's statement that 'we now meet constantly'. The reason for their meetings was to work on the composer's memoirs, hence Shostakovich reports telling him 'everything I remember about my works and myself'. Finally, Volkov would write everything down and later the composer would approve it, hence Shostakovich's statement that the musicologist 'writes it down and at a subsequent meeting I look it over'. In *Testimony*, Volkov describes the process as follows:

[1] I divided up the collected material into sustained sections, combined as seemed appropriate;

[2] then I showed these sections to Shostakovich, who approved my work. What had been created in these pages clearly had a profound effect on him.

[3] Gradually, I shaped this great array of reminiscence into arbitrary parts and had them typed. Shostakovich read and signed each part.⁹³

The sequence of events is further clarified in a letter from Ann Harris of Harper and Row to Henry Orlov (9 April 1979):

[1] Gradually, he [Volkov] began to shape his notes into larger sections and chapters.

[2] He showed some of them to Shostakovich and he gave his approval.

[3] In the spring of 1974, Volkov began to organize the material into longer chapters.

[4] As soon as he had finished each chapter, he gave it to Shostakovich, who read it and as proof of his reading and approval, wrote at the head of each chapter the word 'Read', followed by his signature.⁹⁴

Clearly, Shostakovich had an opportunity to examine some 'larger sections' before they were organized into 'longer chapters' and typed. As such he also could have had input on the text and its organization, the significance of which may have eluded even Volkov. The fact that Shostakovich, in his statement to Litvinova, describes a collaboration still in progress suggests that it stems from 1972–73 (after enough time had elapsed to meet 'constantly'), but before spring 1974 (since no mention is made of signing the typed chapters).

⁹³ *Testimony*, p. xvii; numbers added for clarity. Since Volkov did not type the manuscript himself, he had to prepare an interim version that converted his shorthand notes into a text that could be clearly understood by the typist (as well as be read by Shostakovich before spring 1974).

⁹⁴ A facsimile of this letter is in Kovnatskaya, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 102; numbers added for clarity. Also cf. Dubinsky's statement in note 56 above.

It is also worth noting that since no other ‘young Leningrad musicologist’ has ever come forward to say he worked on a Shostakovich memoir, the reference in Litvinova’s text is clearly to Volkov, even if he is not identified by name.⁹⁵ Indeed, Litvinova is certain that Shostakovich’s statement was about Volkov and *Testimony*; Elizabeth Wilson also read the statement exactly the same way and, thus, omitted it from her book so as not ‘to get too involved in the whole vexed question about the authenticity of Volkov’s *Testimony*’.⁹⁶ Unfortunately, this ‘smoking gun’ passage is again absent in the second edition of Wilson’s book, where she continues to justify such deletions as having been made ‘for reasons of space’ or because they did not ‘relate directly to Shostakovich’.⁹⁷ One wonders, could she not find space for this one paragraph in the process of adding umpteen new passages from the Glikman letters and other recent sources? Could she not see how Shostakovich’s description of work on his own memoirs relates directly to Shostakovich?

Let us next examine Litvinova’s statement that her ‘last conversation’ with Shostakovich took place in 1970 or 1971, in light of her recollection that Shostakovich’s words about the young musicologist comes from 1972–74. Apparently, Mitchinson and Fay never considered that Litvinova’s date for the former might be in error. Litvinova writes:

My last conversation with Dmitri Dmitriyevich took place at the House of Creativity at Ruza sometime in 1970–71. Dmitri Dmitryevich had returned from having treatment at Dr Ilizarov’s clinic with the use of his right hand partially restored. He even tried to play the piano, but he would tire very easily. On that occasion Irina Antonovna had gone to the cinema. Although Dmitri Dmitriyevich did not like to complain, the conversation took a somber turn. First Dmitri Dmitriyevich spoke of Maxim’s success as a conductor with great pride, how well he performed his symphonies, and what successes he had scored on his tours to the West. ‘But, of course, he doesn’t want to live here. And think how proud Nina would have been of him’.

Then we spoke of the Fourteenth Symphony, and how each of the authors of the texts had undergone personal tragedy.

‘But I myself am not ready to die. I still have a lot of music to write. I don’t like living here at Ruza, I prefer working at home, at the dacha in Zhukovka. But Irina Antonovna gets tired looking after me, and she too needs a rest’.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Failure to mention Volkov’s name may have been an oversight or intentional, to protect Volkov from pressures that might be exerted on him for working on such a controversial memoir.

⁹⁶ Letter from Wilson to the authors, 14 May 1997. Cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 250–52. Wilson’s desire to steer clear of the *Testimony* debate likely explains, but does not justify, her failure to mention any information that corroborates the memoirs. She does not acknowledge *Shostakovich Reconsidered* either in her bibliography or main text, and she claims that the ongoing ‘Shostakovich Wars’ have ‘held up rather than promoted the advance of Shostakovich scholarship’ (Wilson, 2nd edn., p. xiii).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 580–81.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 481.

Fay surmises that ‘late 1970 or early 1971 [was] the likeliest period when their final meeting took place’, based on the mention of Shostakovich’s return from medical treatments in Kurgan and his discussion of his Fourteenth Symphony (1969).⁹⁹ While it is true that Shostakovich went to Kurgan twice in 1970 (from 27 February to 9 June and from 27 August to 27 October) and once in June 1971, the pertinent question is *when was he in Ruza?* Fay provides no evidence that he was there in late 1970 or early 1971, and Shostakovich’s letter to Glikman of 30 December 1971 suggests that the conversation with Litvinova took place only the following year: there he writes ‘From 10 January we shall be in Ruza, where there is a Composers’ Rest House, much like the one at Repino’.¹⁰⁰

Curiously, Fay does not mention this correspondence, even though it was in print eleven years before *A Shostakovich Casebook* was published, nor does she quote other passages in Litvinova’s reminiscences that further point to January 1972 as the date of this conversation. For example, she omits Shostakovich’s remarks on Maxim’s success as a conductor. If Shostakovich met with Litvinova sometime after 10 January 1972, to what might he have been referring? It turns out that on 8 January Maxim had been entrusted, for the first time, with the première of one of his father’s major works, the Fifteenth Symphony.¹⁰¹ In his letters to Glikman of 28 November and 30 December 1971, Shostakovich called attention to this very important event and how ‘Maksim has made great strides recently. He has become a real conductor, and in five years’ time he will achieve even more: he will be older, more experienced, wiser’.¹⁰²

Fay also dismisses the notion that Shostakovich would be speaking in 1972 about his Fourteenth Symphony, a work composed three years earlier, rather than about his latest one. However, in his letters of the time, Shostakovich repeatedly mentions not only his own failing health, but the deaths of so many of his contemporaries:

[30 December 1971]: During 1971 death carried off several friends and acquaintances, among them the composer Sabitov, Professor Boris Votchal, who treated me in 1966, the film directors Mikhail Shapiro and Mikhail Romm. Zinaida Gayamova, my secretary, has also died, and Aleksandr Kholodilin.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 54.

¹⁰⁰ *Story of a Friendship*, transl. Anthony Phillips, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 2001, p. 183 (hereafter *Story of a Friendship*). No other letter to Glikman from 1970–71, nor any of the latter’s commentaries for this period, mention the composer being in Ruza. Shostakovich’s letters to Sergey Balasanyan (12 January 1972) and Rita Kornblyum (16 January 1972) confirm that he did go to Ruza during work on *Testimony* (cf. *Dmitry Shostakovich: v pis’makh i dokumentakh*, pp. 333 and 437). Again, however, none of the letters in this collection place him in Ruza in 1970 or 1971.

¹⁰¹ Fay, p. 254, reports that prior to this, Shostakovich ‘did not feel his son was quite up to the challenge’ to conduct the première of an important work such as his Second Violin Concerto. He preferred Kondrashin for the latter, but did entrust to Maxim the first performance of another, less significant composition, the symphonic poem *October*, Op. 131, on 16 September 1967.

¹⁰² *Story of a Friendship*, pp. 182–83.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 182. After his second heart attack (in September 1971), Shostakovich paid particularly close attention to the ‘heavy blows and grievous losses’ dealt by Fate. For example, in his letters to Glikman of 20 February and 15 August 1972, and 17 July 1973 he also mentions the passing of Gavriil Popov,

It is perfectly understandable, given these somber thoughts, that the composer might discuss his Fourteenth Symphony, with its theme that ‘Death is all-powerful’, with his longtime friend Litvinova. Indeed, even Wilson now acknowledges that Litvinova’s ‘last conversation’ with Shostakovich probably took place in 1972 rather than in the stated 1970 or 1971.¹⁰⁴

Significantly, if Litvinova’s last conversation with Shostakovich were in 1972, then his comment about working on a memoir with a young Leningrad musicologist could very well have been made *during* work on *Testimony*. Moreover, if this comment comes from 1972 to 1974, as Litvinova now believes, then Mitchinson’s speculation that Shostakovich was describing work on the Preface to *Young Composers of Leningrad* makes no sense, since this book was already finished and in print by 1971.

How, one might ask, could Shostakovich’s remark date from after his ‘last conversation’ with Litvinova? Apparently, Mitchinson and Fay never considered that Litvinova’s definition of a ‘conversation’ might differ from their own, and refer to a more extended dialogue rather than a few words spoken in passing. The statement in question is one of the latter and she prefaces it by saying that ‘in the last years of his life we met rarely, and not for long, or accidentally. And once, at such a meeting, Dmitry Dmitryevich said [. . .].’ It is unfortunate that Mitchinson and Fay have refused to contact Litvinova, preferring instead to distort Volkov’s, Litvinova’s, and Shostakovich’s words to advance their own spurious theory.¹⁰⁵

3. ‘Les Six Soviétiques’ Revisited

As more and more Russians and ex-Soviets came forward to endorse the memoirs, Malcolm Brown exclaimed: ‘It doesn’t matter how many ex-Soviets now believe that *Testimony* is “essentially accurate”’.¹⁰⁶ Ironically, it does seem to matter to him how many Soviets believe that *Testimony* is a forgery, for in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 80–83, he includes still another translation of the letter of denunciation signed by six students and colleagues of Shostakovich that originally appeared in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* on 14 November 1979. This material is printed without any qualification, despite the questions we raised about it in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*: in particular, did the signatories have access to and read the memoirs *for themselves* before signing the denunciation? When asked at the Midwest Chapter meeting of the American Musicological Society (4 October 1997) if he believed that one should accept, at face value, a denunciation such as ‘Pitiful Forgery’ printed in the Soviet press, Brown responded that he saw no evidence to question it.

Vladimir Yurovsky, Nikolay Rabinovich, Vadim Borisovsky, and Aleksandr Mosolov (*ibid.*, pp. 184, 187, and 189).

¹⁰⁴ Wilson, 2nd edn., p. 481, note 32.

¹⁰⁵ Fay, not surprisingly, embraces Mitchinson’s theory in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 54–55, without question. Like Mitchinson, she too has declined contacting Litvinova. Also notice that, in the statement quoted on p. 27 above, Fay has replaced Litvinova’s phrase ‘last conversation’ with ‘final meeting’.

¹⁰⁶ Brown, ‘Communications’, *Notes*, 50/3, March 1994, pp. 1210–11.

Incredibly, Brown still does not question this material nor does he mention that others had refused to sign the denunciation, including three of the composer's most prominent students — Boris Tchaikovsky, Georgy Sviridov, and Galina Ustvol'skaya — and Rodion Shchedrin, who succeeded Shostakovich as head of the Russian Federation of the Union of Composers (RSFSR) at the latter's request.¹⁰⁷ Although elsewhere in his book Brown adds some lengthy editorial notes to provide context and to correct errors, his only comment about this letter of denunciation concerns the alphabetical order of the signatories' names and their birth and death dates. Did a free, unbiased, and accurate press exist in the USSR in 1979, as Brown presumes? Should a scholar cite as evidence, for twenty-five years, a letter of denunciation or an editorial published in *any* press without carefully checking the facts?

Unlike Brown and Fay, who in her 1980 article 'Shostakovich versus Volkov: Whose *Testimony*' also quoted extensively from 'Pitiful Forgery' without questioning its genesis or criticisms, Alla Latynina, in 'A Secret Confrontation,' comments on the dubious value of this material:

I do not know the exact circumstances of the appearance of the anti-Volkov materials in 1979 (even though I worked there): such publications were prepared in deep secret from untrustworthy employees. But rumors abounded.

I got the articles in the office of my boss Artur Sergeyevich Terteryan [first deputy editor of *Literaturnaya Gazeta*] and began to read them in his presence. In the letter, six composers, who called themselves friends and students of Shostakovich, in the language of a KGB report, objected to the book that was published in the U.S.: 'a pile up of slanderous lies', 'futile attempts to blacken our country'. But they said not a word about the substance of the book. 'And in which language did they read it?' — I grinned — 'You mean, they all read English?' (The letter began with the phrase 'It is with pain and outrage that we read the book'.)

'Polyglots, all', — with an undescrivable expression replied Terteryan.

'But their ears are showing', — noted I.

¹⁰⁷ *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 64. In a note in Georgy Sviridov's 'Muzyka kak sud'ba' ('Music as Fate'), *Molodaya Gvardiya*, 2002, p. 8, his nephew, Aleksandr Belonenko, confirms:

Sviridov never publically spoke regarding the problem of authorship of the reminiscences of D. D. Shostakovich, but when he was asked to sign the letter, concerning the author of this publication Solomon Volkov, he refused to do so. This fact did not go unnoticed. Cf. Schwarz, B., *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia: Enlarged Edition, 1917–1981*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, p. 575. Sviridov had no doubt that the literary transcription was done by Volkov, but saw nothing wrong in it, as the genre of literary transcription of thoughts of this or that composer, and not only composers, had a long history, and, most importantly, had a full right to exist. After all, no one doubts the authenticity of Goethe's thoughts, as written by Eckermann.

‘Let them’, — grinned Terteryan. And added sarcastically — ‘Shostakovich’s students’.¹⁰⁸

Similarly, Levon Hakobian, a contributor to *A Shostakovich Casebook*, dismisses both the denunciation’s portrayal of Shostakovich as a loyal Communist and the ‘unanimous’ Soviet criticism of *Testimony*:

No doubt, even in the times when Shostakovich enjoyed supreme official favour, the Party functionaries did not believe the great musician to be a man of their circle. All the ritual exchange of compliments between him and the Soviet power in his last 20 years was nothing more than a game in the style of standard Soviet ‘doublethink’, carried on according to firmly established and universally recognized rules. The ‘unanimous’ criticism of *Testimony* in the Soviet press, too, was a game of a similar kind. The changed tone of the recent pronouncements of some Russian musicians and critics clearly shows what such a ‘unanimity’ was worth. Nowadays, it is difficult to find any matter for discussion devoted to that history.¹⁰⁹

Elsewhere in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, Elena Basner and Fay provide several fresh insights on ‘Pitiful Forgery’.¹¹⁰ Unfortunately, while answering a few questions, their articles raise new ones about the circumstances surrounding this denunciation. If, as Elena Basner reports,¹¹¹ a representative of Khrennikov arrived at her ‘father’s place and spent the entire day reading Volkov’s book aloud to him and Boris Ivanovich Tishchenko, translating as he read “from the page” back into Russian, one wonders:¹¹²

(1) Was the entire text read or just those portions that would elicit the response desired by Soviet officials?

(2) How accurate was the reverse translation?

¹⁰⁸ Alla Latynina, ‘Tainy poyedinok’ (‘A Secret Confrontation’), *Novy Mir*, 2005, No. 2; on the Internet at <http://magazines.russ.ru/novyi_mi/2005/22/lat10.html>.

¹⁰⁹ Hakobian [Akopian], *Music of the Soviet Age*, Melos, Stockholm, 1998, p. 57 (hereafter Hakobian).

¹¹⁰ Elena Basner’s article in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 137–41, was originally a response to Alexander Zhurbin’s ‘Sledstvie zakoncheno — ne zabud’te!’ (‘The inquest is ended — don’t forget it!’), *Izvestiia*, 13 May 1999, which, though based on *Shostakovich Reconsidered* and emailed responses to his questions, is nonetheless incorrect in a number of details. In our emails to Zhurbin of 12 March 1999, we never asserted ‘that none of the signers of the letter “had at that moment read the book”’, but, as in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, raised the question, given the signatories’ language limitations and the unavailability of the book in the USSR. We also did not claim that ‘five of them had done so under duress’, but mentioned one example provided by Rodion Shchedrin.

¹¹¹ Indicative of the carelessness of Brown’s editing is the fact that Elena Basner is referred to both as the daughter and widow of Veniamin Basner in two different articles in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 140 and 356.

¹¹² Basner, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 138.

(3) Was the material read in a neutral tone or in such a manner as to make vitriolic passages even more biting?

About the first question, let us consider that the English text of *Testimony* spans 273 pages. Dmitry Feofanov, who speaks English fluently, and probably better than any non-native speaker available in Moscow in 1979, has experimented with reverse translation and reports that it takes at least two minutes to read each of these pages aloud in English at a pace that would allow clear comprehension of the words, and about 3'30" per page to translate it at sight and read it aloud in Russian. A reading of the *entire* English text of *Testimony*, therefore, would require some 546 minutes or over nine hours, and a reading and translation of the text into Russian some 966 minutes or over sixteen hours,¹¹³ not including breaks for rest, meals, and the like. This causes one to wonder just *how much* and *which* passages of *Testimony* Basner and Tishchenko actually heard.

The accuracy of the translation and the tone used in the reading also should be questioned. In *A Shostakovich Casebook*, Alla Bogdanova documents how the Soviet authorities had decided to denounce *Testimony* as a forgery should their copyright battle be lost.¹¹⁴ Are we to believe that, in attempting to persuade Basner and Tishchenko to sign onto this 'Plan B', the translator read the entire text in a neutral, objective tone and did not adapt the language or skew the emphasis to achieve the desired result? In *A Shostakovich Casebook*, David Fanning raises exactly the same points: (1) that multiple translations of a text already leave room for error, and (2) that the tone in which a text is spoken can alter its perception. In his 'Response', originally delivered at the national meeting of the American Musicological Society (31 October 1998), he quotes from a pro-Communist private conversation that reportedly took place between Shostakovich and Hans Jung on 22 March 1975. Fanning then asks: 'So to what extent, if any, was he [Shostakovich] speaking the truth? Bear in mind that I've just read out, using my own stresses and inflections, my translation of a German translation of a conversation remembered, transcribed, and edited for publication — already some scope for inauthenticity there'.¹¹⁵

Elena Basner goes on to quote her father saying 'Have you ever thought about why Volkov will never agree to publishing his book in Russian? Because anybody who has heard Dmitri Dmitrievich's living voice even once would realize right away that it is

¹¹³ This is a conservative estimate. Per Skans states in an email to the authors of 12 May 2005:

The *Testimony* Russian typescript is c. 400 pages. From three decades of radio work, I can tell you that reading (aloud) every single page takes an average of 3'30". (If one reads a long text, I'd even claim that it is physically impossible to maintain a faster pace.) 400 pages thus would need 1400 minutes = 23 hours 20 minutes. In other words, it is almost impossible that those who were listening got to hear more than a few juicy passages. (One might add that sight-reading and doing a reverse-translation would have slowed down the pace still more.)

¹¹⁴ Alla Bogdanova, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 94. VAAP, the Soviet Copyright Agency, had claimed that the copyright for Shostakovich's words passed to his heirs upon his death and that Harper and Row had no right to publish them without their consent (*ibid.*, p. 91; also pp. 223–24 below).

¹¹⁵ David Fanning, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 274. For additional insights on this conversation with Jung, cf. Ian MacDonald, 'The Case of Hans Jung', *DSCH Journal*, 12, Winter 2000, pp. 22–24.

a forgery. The book only works in translation'.¹¹⁶ Apparently, she is unaware that it was Irina Shostakovich who forbade publication of the Russian text¹¹⁷ and, moreover, that many Russians *have* read the memoirs in the original language and believe it to be genuine, including Maxim and Galina Shostakovich, Rudolf Barshai, Mark Lubotsky, Il'ya Musin, Rodion Shchedrin, and Yury Temirkanov.¹¹⁸ As first reported in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, Galina Shostakovich stated in October 1995:

I am an admirer of Volkov. There is nothing false there [in *Testimony*]. Definitely the style of speech is Shostakovich's — not only the choice of words, but also the way they are put together. Maxim has shown me parts of the manuscript. There is no question that the signatures ['Chital. D. Shostakovich at the beginning of each chapter] are his [Shostakovich's]. Shostakovich did sign some stupid articles about inconsequential subjects without reading them, but he would not have signed something this big and important without reading it.

Everybody says that this book is only half-truth. But I have never figured out which half is the lie. This book is an outpouring of the soul. It represents, fairly and accurately, Shostakovich's political views, although there is too much 'kitchen talk' and anecdotes.¹¹⁹

Where, then, does this leave us with regard to the six signatories of 'Pitiful Forgery': Veniamin Basner (1925–1996), Kara Karayev (1918–1982), Karen Khachaturian (1920–2011), Yury Levitin (1912–1993), Boris Tishchenko (1939–2010), and Mieczysław Weinberg (1919–1996)? After thirty plus years, only *two* of the six have been shown to have had any firsthand knowledge of the text *at the time they signed the denunciation* and none, apparently, had read it for themselves before 14 November 1979.

Fay, in her article, also includes Weinberg on this very short list, claiming that:

Elena Basner, daughter of Veniamin Basner [. . .] asserts firsthand knowledge that her father, along with Boris Tishchenko and Moisei Weinberg — the latter her father's close friend — had familiarized themselves with Volkov's book and sincerely repudiated it. They signed the letter to *Literaturnaia gazeta* of their own free will.¹²⁰

But this is not what Elena Basner actually reports. She says that their signatures were genuine, and that 'Papa, Weinberg and Tishchenko were absolutely sincere in their rejection of Volkov's book and his behavior';¹²¹ she does *not* state that Weinberg was

¹¹⁶ Basner, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 138–39.

¹¹⁷ Cf. p. 53 below.

¹¹⁸ Cf. pp. 11–13 above as well as *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 64, note 59; 83–84; 110–14; 217; 218, note 381; 256–70; and 296–97. According to Maxim, 'The language is for the most part such that I can recognize it to be my father's language [. . .]' (Heikinheimo, 'A Decade of Struggle', pp. 351–52).

¹¹⁹ *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 83; phone conversation with the authors, 15 October 1995.

¹²⁰ Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 54.

¹²¹ Basner, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 139.

familiar with the text of *Testimony*. Being sincere about signing and being familiar with what is being denounced is not the same thing. In fact, Weinberg (not to mention Khachaturian, Levitin, and Karayev) was not present at the reading mentioned above, and seems to have ‘sincerely’ signed based not on firsthand knowledge of the text but on whatever he had heard from others, such as his close friend Veniamin Basner or Tishchenko. In 2005, his family confirmed to Per Skans that although Weinberg added his signature to ‘Pitiful Forgery’, he was unable to read either the English or German translations of *Testimony*.¹²² Moreover, they do not recall him ever attending a reverse-translation session such as that described by Elena Basner.¹²³

Fay also responds to Rodion Shchedrin’s claim that Kara Karayev was ‘coerced into signing the letter under threat that he would be kicked out of the hospital where he was undergoing treatment for a heart condition’¹²⁴ by citing a conversation with the latter’s son, Faradzh Karayev, on 12 May 1999. Fay writes:

[Faradzh Karayev] informed me that his father read *Testimony* in German translation — a language he read fluently — and told his family that ‘Mitya couldn’t have written this, let alone allowed its publication. It is clearly a fabrication’.¹²⁵

What Fay does not mention, or perhaps Faradzh Karayev was unclear about, is *when* did Kara Karayev read the German translation? Was this before he signed the letter of denunciation? Would Karayev have had a copy of a book that had been denied even to the Shostakovich family at the time ‘Pitiful Forgery’ appeared?¹²⁶

Interestingly, Fay confirms that Kara Karayev was in the hospital when the letter was printed with his name added to the list.¹²⁷ Does this ring a bell? In *A Shostakovich Casebook*, Irina Shostakovich mentions two instances in which her husband’s own name was added to letters in *Pravda* without his knowledge or approval: ‘The same thing had happened earlier with a letter in support of Mikis Theodorakis. At that time Shostakovich was in the hospital. There was no use questioning the signature after it had

¹²² On the limited language proficiencies of all six of the signatories, *cf.* p. 30 above and *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 66.

¹²³ In his unpublished study on Weinberg, Skans comments briefly on ‘Pitiful Forgery’ in light of Elena Basner’s article, noting: ‘Weinberg’s widow and daughter have regrettably not been able to state how much he knew of the book [*Testimony*], and how he had made himself acquainted with it’. They confirmed that ‘Father knew Polish and Russian and very little Yiddish’, but not one of the languages in which *Testimony* was then available (email from Anna and Olga Weinberg to Skans, 24 May 2005).

¹²⁴ *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 64. Shchedrin was not the only person to speak about the pressure put on the signatories. Vladimir Zak also wrote that they ‘were forced (that is, really compelled) to sign’ (*ibid.*, p. 504).

¹²⁵ Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 55. The German translation strays significantly from Shostakovich’s ‘staccato style’ found in the Russian text and likely influenced Karayev’s verdict. *Cf.* p. 75 below for Heikinheimo’s comments on these stylistic changes in the German, English, and French translations.

¹²⁶ *Cf.* Maxim’s statement, *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 84. Like Veniamin Basner (*A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 138), Karayev probably read the complete book for himself, if at all, only after he had signed ‘Pitiful Forgery’.

¹²⁷ Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 55.

already happened'.¹²⁸ She also explains how Shostakovich's name became affixed, without permission, to a well-known letter of denunciation of Andrey Sakharov: 'Some time ago we tried to obtain the original letter, but *Pravda* refused us, while admitting "there was such a practice [of adding names without approval] at that time". But I kn[e]w it without being told'.¹²⁹

In addition to reprinting 'Pitiful Forgery', Brown also includes the editorial 'The Bedbug'¹³⁰ that accompanied it. Again, he does not question this text, even if 'there's been time [twenty-five years!] to do some thinking'¹³¹, nor does he address issues raised in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, such as (1) the lack of specificity in this editorial, which suggests that this writer, too, had not read *Testimony*; and (2) its sometimes bizarre focus, such as the claim that Glière, of all people, had been 'slurred'.¹³² In direct contrast, Alla Latynina dismisses this editorial, noting that 'written crudely, ungracefully, with an unskilled KGB hand, it left no doubt in its readers that the genuine memoirs of Shostakovich were in the West'.¹³³

Incredibly, Brown does not even question the statements attributed to Shostakovich in 'The Bedbug' — from the eve of the Second Congress of Composers in 1957, from an article in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (21 December 1965), and from 'Muzyka i vremia' ('Music and the Times') in the journal *Kommunist* (May 1975) — all of which are quoted to portray the composer as a loyal Communist. In striking contrast, Henry Orlov, a contributor to *A Shostakovich Casebook*, warns:

Where, then, does one find his [Shostakovich's] credo expressed, his beliefs articulated? Perhaps in the numerous articles signed with his name, the public speeches delivered with his voice? To suppose this to be the case would be far too naïve. Future scholars will have to decide which of those articles and speeches reflected his true beliefs and which were prompted by the weighty argument, 'It must be thus', and then sheathed in the ideas of others or written entirely in their hands, like his widely quoted 'My creative answer', in response to the humiliating *Pravda* editorials in 1936 and the penitent speech at the First Congress of Soviet Composers in 1948 [. . .]. He did not protest against being used. [. . .] Only the articles and notes published before 1937 raise no doubts about Shostakovich's authorship. Both their substance and style recall his music — angular, prickly, sincere without reservation, aggressive, and direct. Later, one no

¹²⁸ Irina Shostakovich, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 133.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 132–33. Even if Shostakovich did not actually sign the letter against Sakharov, he deeply regretted having his name attached to it. This is evident from Litvinova's and Lebedinsky's statements in Wilson, pp. 308 and 338.

¹³⁰ Brown, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 84–89.

¹³¹ Cf. Shostakovich's comment in *Testimony*, pp. 42–43, 155, and 199 on the laziness of some musicologists.

¹³² Cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 66.

¹³³ Latynina, 'A Secret Confrontation'.

longer hears his inimitable manner of speaking, the ideas are smoothed out, balanced carefully, the statements almost impersonal in tone.¹³⁴

Although Brown does not mention it, the view of Shostakovich as a ‘loyal Communist’ has been scuttled by just about every source that has appeared since the fall of the Soviet regime, including numerous reminiscences of the composer in Wilson’s *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*, Shostakovich’s own letters in Glikman’s *Story of a Friendship* and *Dmitry Shostakovich: v pis’makh i dokumentakh*, and Maxim and Galina Shostakovich’s recollections of their father in Michael Ardov’s *Memories of Shostakovich*. Shostakovich’s inner circle also has soundly refuted the notion that he joined the Communist Party willingly and happily. Glikman recalls the composer’s reaction when he was asked to attend a meeting in Moscow to induct him: ‘They’ll only get me to Moscow if they tie me up and drag me there, you understand, they’ll have to tie me up’.¹³⁵ Glikman further describes, in vivid detail, Shostakovich’s emotional state on 29 June 1960:

The moment I saw him I was struck by the lines of suffering on his face, and by his whole air of distress. He hurried me straight into the little room where he had slept, crumpled down on to the bed and began to weep with great, aching sobs. I was extremely alarmed, imagining that some dreadful harm had befallen either him or someone in his family. In answer to my questioning, he managed through tears to jerk out indistinctly: ‘They’ve been pursuing me for years, hunting me down . . .’ Never before had I seen Shostakovich in such a state of hysterical collapse. I gave him a glass of cold water; he drank it down, his teeth chattering, then gradually calmed himself. However, it took about an hour for him to recover enough composure to tell me what had recently been happening in Moscow.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Henry Orlov, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 195. Many others have acknowledged the caution with which one must approach Shostakovich’s public statements, including Daniil Zhitomirsky (in *Blindheit als Schutz vor der Wahrheit: Aufzeichnungen eines Beteiligten zu Musik und Musikleben in der ehemaligen Sowjetunion*, Verlag Ernst Kuhn, Berlin, 1996), Maxim Shostakovich, Elizabeth Wilson, and Svetlana Savenko. Maxim stated in June 1981: ‘I never saw my father write down any speeches or statements. They were brought to him all prepared from the Composers’ Union, and he just signed them or delivered the speech as written for him’ (*Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 111). Wilson adds: ‘In my father’s archive [Wilson’s father was British ambassador to Moscow], I found that during a Beethoven celebration, Shostakovich opened the proceedings — Shostakovich’s script was written for him, as well as articles in *Pravda*’ (Richard Pleak, ‘The Bard Festival, 2004 Part 1’, *DSCH Journal*, 22, January 2005, p. 53; hereafter Pleak). Finally, Savenko warns that ‘any study of Shostakovich’s writings presents considerable and specific problems. The first problem is that of authenticity. It is as though the author were not a man of the twentieth century, who died a mere twenty years ago or so, but some legendary medieval master whose ancient texts have first to be identified before they can be studied’ (‘Shostakovich’s Literary Style’, in Rosamund Bartlett’s *Shostakovich in Context*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, p. 43).

¹³⁵ *Story of a Friendship*, p. 92.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 91–92. In contrast, Malcolm Brown, in a program by Andrew Ford titled ‘Music and Ideology’, Radio National, 7 March 2004 (transcript on the Internet at <<http://www.abc.net.au/rn/music/mshow/s1185633.htm>>) wonders if Shostakovich’s ‘emotional

Maxim has a similar recollection:

I shall never forget Father asking Galya and me to come into his study in summer 1960, and saying: ‘They have forced me to become a Party member’. And then he started weeping. I saw him weeping only twice in my life and the other time was when my mother died.¹³⁷

Irina also confirms that Shostakovich was forced to join the Party. When she inquired about this, he responded: ‘If you love me, never ask me about that. They blackmailed me’.¹³⁸ This event motivated the composer to write his autobiographical Eighth Quartet, originally dedicated to his own memory, and even contemplate suicide.¹³⁹

Other insights into the ‘real’ Shostakovich may be found in letters such as the following to Lev Lebedinsky:¹⁴⁰

breakdown’ was truly the result of ‘compromising his politics’ or because ‘he thought he was going to be saddled with even more [administrative and public service] work than he had to deal with before’!

¹³⁷ Michael Ardov, *Memories of Shostakovich: Interviews with the Composer’s Children*, transl. Rosanna Kelly and Michael Meylac, Short Books, London, 2004, pp. 159–60 (hereafter Ardov).

¹³⁸ Yakubov, p. 61; Maxim Shostakovich also recalls his father commenting on this, but using the term ‘coerced’ rather than ‘blackmailed’ (Wilson, 2nd edn., p. 381). In an interview on 4 June 2008, Irina was asked, ‘But what could they have used to blackmail him? “Prevent the performing of his music”, she said. “He already knew what this would be like, from *Lady Macbeth* and the Zhdanov period”’ (Lesser, p. 159). This appears to be Irina’s own speculation, but the idea that Shostakovich’s music could have been banned in 1960 as in earlier times is highly questionable.

¹³⁹ *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 160–62. While in the hospital in December 1960, three months after his induction, Shostakovich remarked several times: ‘Probably God is punishing me for my sins, for instance, joining the Party’ (*Story of a Friendship*, p. 276, note 36). Regarding Shostakovich’s thoughts of suicide, Lesser, p. 147, claims that Maxim ‘has repeatedly and emphatically denied the story about the sleeping pills’. Unfortunately, she provides not a single citation to support this. Fanning mentions, based on a phone call to Maxim (‘The Reluctant Revolutionary’, *Gramophone*, July 2006, p. 26), ‘This is a story that Maxim Shostakovich, cited as a witness by Lebedinsky, remembers very differently (to the effect that his father’s sleeping pills were merely for jet lag, not for doing away with himself)’ (*Music and Letters*, 88/4, November 2007, p. 697). Apparently, the composer *was* in possession of these pills even if Maxim, perhaps influenced by his own religious beliefs, perceived their intended use differently. Although Fanning rejects Lebedinsky’s account out of hand, no one knows whose perception was the more accurate. Lebedinsky’s remains plausible given Shostakovich’s emotional distress over joining the Party, his quotation of significant works throughout his career in the Quartet itself (like the summation of a life’s work), his contemplation of suicide during earlier difficult times (Fay, p. 164), and his statements, to Lebedinsky, that ‘this was his last work’ (Wilson, 2nd edn., p. 381) and, to Galina, that this piece ‘is dedicated to my *memory*. It is my *requiem*’ (Katharina Bruner and Oliver Becker, ‘Close Up, Shostakovich’, film documentary, Loft Music, 2006, emphasis added; also Ardov, p. 159).

¹⁴⁰ Per Skans, ‘A Letter from the “Most Loyal Son”’, *DSCJ Journal*, 20, January 2004, pp. 44–45; transl. from *Muzikal’naya Zhizn’*, 1993, pp. 23–24; emphasis added. Mariya Konisskaya notes: ‘The majority of these letters [to Lebedinsky] are written in that strange language, which someone termed “double-speak”. One thing was written, and the exact opposite was meant. A camouflage. You know for many years we had been fearing omnipresent eyes and ears’. Skans adds: ‘His way of speaking was very common in the USSR. If one disliked something intensely, one praised it to absurdity. Whenever the presence of a censor’s eye or a hidden microphone was suspected, the wisdom of the leadership was wildly eulogised, though rarely as ludicrously as here’. This is also apparent in Shostakovich’s letter to Glikman, 29 December 1957, quoted in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 174, note 216.

Moscow, September 7th, 1958

Dear Lev Nikolaevich,

Quite often you reproach me for working too little on myself, for studying too little the classics of Marxism-Leninism. There is some truth in your reproaches. But ‘Whose cow would moo, and whose would remain silent?’, as our native Russian popular proverb says.¹⁴¹ I, too, for example, have often caught you not reading the newspapers. For this reason I have taken a cutting from the ‘Literaturnaya Gazeta’ of January 6th, 1958, No. 107 (3918), a magnificent article by Comrade Zhdanov (Yu). You have of course already read the novel ‘The Yershov Brothers’ by Kochetov.¹⁴² The article by Comrade Zhdanov (Yu) is a brilliant appraisal of this capital and revolutionary, purposeful, progressive, anti-reactionary, positive novel. Comrade Zhdanov (Yu) really turns out to be a worthy follower of the immortal directives of Comrade Zhdanov (A). This is not surprising. You see, he is the flesh and blood, the son of A. A. Zhdanov, whose *radiant image* has been preserved so lovingly in the hearts of those involved in music. In the article by his worthy son the *radiant image* of the late A. A. Zhdanov appears before those involved in music in yet another new and splendid form. Judging by the article by Yu. Zhdanov, the *radiant image* of his father appears to those involved in music not only as a prominent Marxist, a true student and comrade-in-arms of Lenin and Stalin; not only as an eminent person involved in music, a thinker, a philosopher, a pianist; not only as a fighter for the immortal ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin; but also as a superior educator. An example of this, and a brilliant example, is his son Zhdanov (Yu). I can only say: if there only were more of these outstandingly brought up young people. So therefore I am sending you this cutting to remind you that you do not always read newspapers.

Yours, D. Shostakovich

P.S. And what an educated person, Yu. A. Zhdanov. How superbly he knows Latin!¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ This phrase recalls the trial of cows in *Testimony*, pp. 124–25; also cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 42.

¹⁴² Vsevolod Anisimovich Kochetov (1912–1973), a mediocre writer and ‘one of the most ardent combatants in the “struggle against cosmopolitanism”’, was appointed leader of the Leningrad Union of Writers and from 1955–59 was editor-in-chief of *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, until he was dismissed after it had lost half of its readership. He is best known for warning that ‘Criticising Stalin is like spitting into one’s own face’ (Skans, *DSCH Journal*, 20, pp. 44–45).

¹⁴³ This postscript ‘may not at all be innocent: Anna Akhmatova, who had been persecuted by the political leadership during many years, was famous for her superb mastery of Latin’ (*ibid.*, p. 45).

4. Irina Shostakovich and the Case of ‘She Said, He Said’

Irina Shostakovich’s latest extended comments on the *Testimony* debate appeared in the newspaper *Moskovskie novosti* (‘Myortvye bezzashchitny?’ [‘Are the Dead Defenseless?’], 8–14 August 2000), p. 15, then were translated into English in the *Moscow News* (9–15 August 2000), p. 11. In violation of its policy of not publishing secondhand material,¹⁴⁴ *The New York Times* then printed this article a third time, in a new translation and under a different title, ‘An Answer to Those Who Still Abuse Shostakovich’, and it is this version that appears in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 126–33. Because Volkov was allotted only a modicum of space to respond,¹⁴⁵ the present section provides a more detailed discussion of the points raised by Irina. This material is based on feedback provided by Volkov¹⁴⁶ as well as our own independent research. Although Volkov has expressed regret over having ‘to argue with the great man’s widow’,¹⁴⁷ we believe that the truth about *Testimony* and Shostakovich is what is most important even if the search for that truth reveals inconsistencies and errors in Irina’s own accounts. As demonstrated previously in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, Irina’s statements have changed over the years and often conflict with other evidence, yet Brown never mentions these inconsistencies nor questions the veracity or source of Irina’s opinions. For clarity, Irina’s statements are highlighted in italics whereas the response to each point appears in normal text.

(1) *‘Shostakovich agreed to be interviewed by Mr. Volkov, whom he knew little about, for an article to be published in Sovetskaia muzyka’.*¹⁴⁸

This old canard has been rebutted previously in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 76–81. Volkov first came into contact with Shostakovich in 1960: that is, two years before the composer married Irina.¹⁴⁹ On 24 April 1968, Volkov resurrected, on stage, Veniamin Fleishman’s opera *Rothschild’s Violin*, a work of great importance to Shostakovich, as Glikman and others have confirmed,¹⁵⁰ and in 1971 published his first book, *Young*

¹⁴⁴ In the version of the article on the Internet, note was made that at the time of publication the newspaper was unaware that this material had circulated elsewhere previously. One wonders who submitted this text to the *Times* without revealing its provenance and prior circulation (twice!) in Russia.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Volkov’s comments in *Moscow News*, 34, 30 August–5 September 2000 (reprinted in *DSCH Journal*, 14, January 2001, pp. 7–8) and in *The New York Times*, 27 August 2000, p. AR2.

¹⁴⁶ Volkov, detailed written response to Irina Shostakovich’s article, 2000, unpublished (copy on file with the authors; hereafter, Volkov, Response).

¹⁴⁷ For example, in a phone interview with Vesa Sirén of *Helsingin Sanomat*, 1 October 2004; email from Sirén to the authors, 6 October 2004.

¹⁴⁸ Irina Shostakovich, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 130.

¹⁴⁹ In ‘Remembering Shostakovich’, *DSCH Journal*, 11, Summer 1998, p. 7, Irina states that she met Shostakovich ‘while compiling the text of his opera *Moscow-Cheryomushki*’ (published in 1959). Wilson, 2nd edn., p. 396, says that this meeting took place ‘sometime in 1961’ whereas originally she stated ‘in early 1962’ (Wilson, p. 351). Also cf. Fay, p. 227.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. *Story of a Friendship*, pp. xvii and 239, note 166. In addition, an article by Sergey Kara-Murza, preserved in the U. S. Holocaust Memorial Museum’s Jewish Antifascist Committee Collection, includes a statement by Shostakovich that elaborates on his praise of Fleishman in *Testimony*, p. 225:

It is very difficult without emotional distress to talk about the heroically martyred Veniamin Fleishman, who was not only one of my most talented students but a personal

Composers of Leningrad, to which Shostakovich contributed a Preface. Finally, *Testimony* includes four photographs and a handwritten dedication from Shostakovich to Volkov on a score of his Thirteenth Symphony that document their relationship over a span of at least nine years (1965–74).¹⁵¹

No evidence has been found that Volkov asked to meet with Shostakovich for an article for *Sovetskaya Muzyka*. Instead, Yury Korev, the chief editor at the magazine (and, thus, someone ‘in the know’ regarding the assignments of journalists) confirmed that ‘Volkov, on numerous occasions, mentioned that he was working on a *book* of memoirs of Shostakovich’.¹⁵² Even Tishchenko never claimed that Volkov’s reason for meeting with Shostakovich was to work on an article. Instead, in a handwritten note to Volkov (9 April 1972), he refers to *books* ‘on which you are working presently’.¹⁵³ Finally, it is worth remembering that when N. Kartsov and G. Krestova, two officials of VAAP, questioned Irina on 22 November 1978 about a *book* to be published in the USA that ‘might damage the memory of the great composer’, she did not express shock that such a book could have been written. She did not say, ‘that’s impossible, because Volkov only met a few times with Shostakovich for an article to be published by

friend. He was admitted into our Leningrad Conservatory in 1938 and immediately demonstrated extraordinary compositional skills. He exhibited talent at a very early age: according to his mother he began to sing even before he could speak. At the Conservatory he wrote several beautiful pieces and romances to poems by the great Russian poet Lermontov that were successfully performed at student concerts. In 1941, I proposed that three of my most talented students test their skills by composing a one-act opera on a subject of their own choosing. Fleishman chose Chekhov’s story *Rothschild’s Violin*, thus proving his exquisite literary taste. Apparently he was attracted by the possibility of using Jewish musical folklore in composing this work. And in reality he wrote the best opera of all three students, with its abundance of distinctive melodies and coloration derived from the bright Jewish national palette. I consider this opera, *Rothschild’s Violin*, a distinguished musical composition due to its originality as well its unique harmonies and instrumentation. And I am sure it will draw the attention of listeners as soon as it sees the light (‘Rothschild’s Violin: An Opera by Veniamin Fleishman’, written before 1949 and submitted to *Eynikayt*, a newspaper published by the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in Moscow; transl. Vadim Altskan and Bret Werb, USHMM, 15 January 2008, Central State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF) fond P-8114 opis 1 folder 39 / USHMM Jewish Antifascist Committee Collection, reel 16).

¹⁵¹ Cf. *Testimony*’s frontispiece photo, the two between pp. 182 and 183, and the one on the dust jacket of the original edition, reproduced in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 303.

¹⁵² *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 137; emphasis added.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 72; emphasis added. The reference is not to *Young Composers of Leningrad* (1971), which Tishchenko, in the same inscription, acknowledges is ‘already published’. Volkov’s only book in progress at the time was *Testimony*. Martti Anhava also reports in his book *Professori, piispa ja tyhjyys (The Professor, the Bishop, and the Void)*, Otava, Helsinki, 1989, p. 65:

A short while after the memoirs [of Shostakovich] were published, a quasi-relative of the composer Boris Tishchenko — a daughter-in-law’s brother or son-in-law’s sister or something like that — visited Finland and told in a private circle that Tishchenko had practically harassed the old, sick Shostakovich and pressed him to write his memoirs and to tell the truth.

Sovetskaya Muzyka'. Instead, she stated 'the book may well contain only Dmitri Dmitrievich's autobiographical commentary'.¹⁵⁴

(2) 'There were three interviews; each lasted two to two and a half hours, no longer, since Shostakovich grew tired of extensive chat and lost interest in conversation'.¹⁵⁵

As stated above, this was not Irina's initial reaction. It also deviates slightly from her statement in November 1979 that Volkov and Shostakovich met 'three or maybe four times', and conflicts with the tallies by KGB officer Vasily Sitnikov, who reported four meetings taking place in spring 1973 alone, and Maxim Shostakovich, who first mentioned four meetings, then six, and finally that he didn't actually know.¹⁵⁶ Most importantly, Irina's total is at odds with Shostakovich's own characterization to Litvinova that he was meeting 'constantly' to tell the young Leningrad musicologist 'everything I remember about my works and myself'.

According to Volkov, he and Shostakovich had dozens of meetings to work on *Testimony* between 1971 and 1974. These began in Repino in July 1971 and became more frequent in 1972 after he joined the staff of *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, which was housed in the same building as Shostakovich's apartment.¹⁵⁷ Given Irina's mention of only three meetings between Shostakovich and Volkov, one wonders if she has confused their few meetings for work on the Preface to *Young Composers of Leningrad* with those for *Testimony*. According to Volkov, she was not present at the latter and, thus, like Maxim, has no firsthand knowledge of how many sessions took place.

(3) 'Two of the interviews were held in the presence of Mr. Tishchenko'.¹⁵⁸

As mentioned in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 68–70, Tishchenko was present only at the beginning of the first meeting in Repino. He was then asked by Shostakovich to leave and never returned; he was not present at any of the actual interviews. Originally, Tishchenko, too, claimed only to be at 'the meeting' between Volkov and Shostakovich.¹⁵⁹ We further noted in *Shostakovich Reconsidered* the deterioration in the friendship that once existed between Volkov and Tishchenko as well as the latter's attempted reconciliation in New York in 1992.¹⁶⁰ It was *Tishchenko*, not Volkov, who initiated this meeting, according to evidence in the latter's archive.

¹⁵⁴ Bogdanova, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 93.

¹⁵⁵ I. Shostakovich, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 130.

¹⁵⁶ *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 50, 76, 80, and 88. Sitnikov told reporters that Volkov 'gained entry to Shostakovich in 1973 [. . .]. He met Shostakovich for the first time at his summer home near Leningrad twice in the spring of 1973 and twice later that same spring in Moscow [. . .]' (Phillip Bonosky, 'Defaming the Memory of a Famous Composer', *Daily World*, 10 November 1979, p. 12).

¹⁵⁷ This is acknowledged in *Testimony*, pp. xvi–xvii: 'At first we met in Shostakovich's cottage near Leningrad, where the Composers' Union had a resort. Shostakovich went there to rest. It was not very convenient and dragged out our work, making each resumption difficult emotionally. The work went smoothly once I moved to Moscow in 1972, taking a position with *Sovetskaya muzyka*, the country's leading musical journal'.

¹⁵⁸ I. Shostakovich, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 130.

¹⁵⁹ From a speech to an editorial conference of the newspaper *Sovetskaya Kul'tura*, translated in Boris Tishchenko, 'Briefly on Important Issues', *Music in the USSR*, July/September 1989, p. 35.

¹⁶⁰ *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 69, note 84.

In a recent interview, Tishchenko further gilds his account of the meetings between Volkov and Shostakovich:

There were three meetings. Shostakovich spoke about his youth, Glazunov, Asafiev and the conservatoire and his work as a pianist at the Barrikad cinema. *But none of his conversations went beyond his youth.* Everything that was said at these meetings would have fitted into a school notebook. Incidentally Shostakovich's wife *Irina Antonovna was in the next room during all these meetings* and she will confirm what I've said. Shostakovich himself was unsure and repeatedly asked if it was necessary or a good idea, and insisted that *I was present through all the conversations.* He obviously understood what a 'charming' man Volkov was. And he didn't trust him.¹⁶¹

Here Tishchenko contradicts his own and Irina's earlier statements. He originally stated that he was at *the* meeting (singular) between Volkov and Shostakovich, but now he claims to have been at three, while Irina claims he was at two. Irina states that what Shostakovich told Volkov was limited to the pre-war years and to the topics listed on the frontispiece photo (*cf.* 5–6 below), but Tishchenko limits the material to just Shostakovich's 'youth', which is not the same as the 'pre-war' years for someone born in 1906, and he lists topics never mentioned by Irina. Finally, Tishchenko places Irina in the next room during all of the Volkov/Shostakovich meetings, apparently eavesdropping on the conversations, but Irina has never mentioned being present and listening in on any of the sessions.

(4) *'The second time Volkov brought with him a camera and asked Tishchenko and then me to photograph them [Volkov and Shostakovich — Eds.] as a memento. When he came for the third interview, he brought the photograph and asked the composer to sign it'*.¹⁶²

In *Shostakovich Reconsidered* we identified the photographers of each of the photographs of Volkov and Shostakovich reproduced in *Testimony*.¹⁶³ Clearly, Irina's account of how the one that Shostakovich signed (i.e., the frontispiece photo) came about makes no sense. How could either Irina or Tishchenko have taken this photograph when they are *in the picture*, seated beside Shostakovich and Volkov (*cf.* the facsimile below)?

¹⁶¹ John Riley, 'Remembering Shostakovich . . . with Boris Tishchenko', *DSCH Journal*, 23, July 2005, p. 10; emphasis added.

¹⁶² English version from the *Moscow News*, 9–15 August 2000, p. 11; reprinted in *DSCH Journal*, 14, January 2001, p. 6. This follows the original Russian text in *Moskovskie novosti*, 8–14 August 2000, p. 15. In contrast, the translation in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 130, deviates from both of these and obscures the contradiction noted above: 'Mr. Volkov arrived at the second interview with a camera (Mr. Volkov's wife, a professional photographer, always took pictures of Mr. Volkov with anyone who might become useful in the future) and asked Mr. Tishchenko and me to take pictures "as a keepsake". He brought a photograph to the third interview and asked Shostakovich to sign it'.

¹⁶³ *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 77, note 105.



The frontispiece photograph in Testimony, actually taken by Il'ya Shapiro, a freelance photographer at Sovetskaya Muzyka.

(5) *'Shostakovich wrote his usual words: "To dear Solomon Maseyevich [sic] Volkov, in fond remembrance. D. Shostakovich 13.XI.1974". Then, as if sensing something amiss, he asked for the photograph back and, according to Mr. Volkov himself, added: "In memory of our talks on Glazunov, Zoshchenko, and Meyerhold. D. Sh."'*¹⁶⁴

Volkov also recounts the signing of the frontispiece photo in his Preface to *Testimony*. In the main, this parallels Irina's account, except that she omits a key detail:

Then, just as I was about to leave, he said, 'Wait. Give me the photo'.
And he added: 'A reminder of our conversations about Glazunov,
Zoshchenko, Meyerhold. D. S.' And he said, 'This will help you'.¹⁶⁵

(6) *'That was a list of the topics covered during the interviews. It shows that the conversation was about musical and literary life in prewar Leningrad (now St. Petersburg) and nothing more'*.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ I. Shostakovich, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 130.

¹⁶⁵ *Testimony*, p. xviii; emphasis added.

¹⁶⁶ I. Shostakovich, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 130.

Irina interprets Shostakovich's last-minute addition to the inscription as an indication of the limited scope of the interviews. However, in listing Meyerhold's name, the inscription itself contradicts Irina's claim that 'the conversation was about musical and literary life in prewar Leningrad, and nothing more'. As Fay notes in *Shostakovich: A Life*, Meyerhold was 'an actor, theater director [and] a towering figure in early Soviet culture, [who from 1920] headed his own theater in *Moscow*',¹⁶⁷ not Leningrad.

(7) 'Some time later, Mr. Volkov brought Shostakovich a typed version of their conversations and asked him to sign every page at the bottom. [. . .] I came into Shostakovich's study as he was standing at his desk signing those pages without reading them. Mr. Volkov took the pages and left'.¹⁶⁸

Volkov categorically denies that he asked for the signatures or that this scenario ever took place. The signatures were Shostakovich's idea and, as Brown points out in an editorial note, they are not at the bottom of pages but at the top, and only at the beginning of each chapter. According to Volkov, 'I would leave typed chapters of the manuscript with Shostakovich and Irina herself would deliver them to me, already signed, in an envelope. I believe that she never actually looked into it, so incurious about the whole matter she was at the time!' On 15 February 1999, at the Mannes College of Music, Volkov added:

Somehow people assume that I, a young journalist and writer, could fool this all-time genius into signing something which he wasn't aware of how it would be used. [. . .] You should imagine the real situation. I was awed by this man. I never asked him to sign anything. It was *his* initiative to do so. In all this relationship, I always considered myself to be a vessel through which the thoughts and ideas of Shostakovich went through. Nothing less, but nothing more as well. And I still consider myself to be a vessel. I was young, as I said — inexperienced, and *insignificant* in relation to Shostakovich. Still, after all these years, if we could meet again, I would feel the same awe and the same fear and the same nervousness. This whole process for me was one continuing catastrophe, so to speak, one continuing earthquake, emotional rollercoaster. I was doing *his* work, it was *his* idea to convey all these things from me. And it couldn't be the other way around. It's absolutely unrealistic. You should consider, you should place yourself in my position at the time. Imagine how unequal our positions were. I was approaching him tiptoeing — in fear that every session might be the last one. I didn't know if I'd be invited the next time.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ Fay, p. 374; emphasis added. Although Zoshchenko (1894–1958) lived well after the war, he was a victim of the literary purges in 1946 that ended his writing career prematurely.

¹⁶⁸ I. Shostakovich, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 130–31.

¹⁶⁹ Complete transcript on the Internet at 'Music Under Soviet Rule' <<http://www.siu.edu/~aho/musov/man/mannes.html>>. Volkov maintains this humble position to this day. In a letter to *The New York Times Sunday Book Review*, 22 May 2011, p. BR6, he responded, succinctly:

In his insightful review of 'Music for Silenced Voices', Edward Rothstein also discussed 'Testimony', on which, as a young Soviet musicologist, I collaborated with the great composer. While appreciating Rothstein's praise, I must point out that all credit goes to

(8) 'I later learned that Mr. Volkov had already [at the time Shostakovich signed "every page"] applied for an exit visa to leave the country and was planning to use that material as soon as he was abroad'.¹⁷⁰

This statement is demonstrably false. Volkov applied for an exit visa only in February 1975, clearly after Shostakovich had signed the typescript and the frontispiece photo. This is corroborated by *A Chronicle of Current Events* (1976), an authoritative samizdat summary of news in the Soviet Union: 'A week later (in the beginning of March [1976]), Volkov was given permission to emigrate, for which he had waited the whole year'.¹⁷¹ In emigrating, Volkov was fulfilling his agreement with Shostakovich that the memoirs would be published abroad, but only after his death. He further notes that it

started in all innocence by both of us, as a book that could be published inside the Soviet Union. When I spoke about nervousness initially, I certainly didn't have in mind the nervousness about smuggling [the book] into the West and publishing [it] there. That wasn't in my mind at all. Because I assumed — more importantly, *Shostakovich* assumed — that he had earned his right to say whatever he wanted at the close of his life. [. . .] I myself never considered the book, when it was written, to be anti-Soviet. No! Anti-Stalin, yes, 100%.¹⁷²

(9) 'Mr. Volkov had told a lot of people about those pages, boasting his journalist's luck'.¹⁷³

This is true and was also acknowledged by Irina back on 22 November 1978, when she was questioned by VAAP: 'everybody concerned knew about the conversations [between Volkov and Shostakovich], including the journal *Sovetskaya muzyka*'.¹⁷⁴ Among those 'in the know' were Galina Drubachevskaya and Yury Korev at *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, Flora Litvinova (cf. pp. 21–29), Rostislav Dubinsky and other members of the Borodin Quartet (cf. note 55), Vladimir Krainev (cf. p. xii), Anatoly Kuznetsov (cf. p. 89), Mark Lubotsky (cf. p. 73), Maxim Shostakovich, and Karen Khachaturian.¹⁷⁵ In a phone conversation with the authors on 13 December 1997, Khachaturian stated, 'Yes, I know Volkov went upstairs to interview Shostakovich'. He also explained that although 'the book is based on the facts', he signed the denunciation because he thought the latter

Shostakovich himself. My only contribution was to ask the right questions at the right time and arrange the answers in a narrative form.

¹⁷⁰ I. Shostakovich, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 131.

¹⁷¹ *A Chronicle of Current Events*, Khronika Press, New York, 1976, pp. 80–81; also cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 49. This chronology is also consistent with what Volkov wrote in *Testimony*, p. xviii: 'Soon thereafter, I applied to the Soviet authorities for permission to leave for the West'.

¹⁷² Shostakovich session, Mannes College of Music, 15 February 1999.

¹⁷³ I. Shostakovich, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 131.

¹⁷⁴ Bogdanova, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 93. In *DSCH Journal*, 14, January 2001, p. 8, Volkov mentions that in addition to *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, 'the Novosti Press Agency likewise turned the book down'. This is consistent with his statement in *Testimony*, p. xviii, that 'several attempts I made [. . . to get the book published in the USSR] ended in failure'.

¹⁷⁵ *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 64, note 59; 66, note 71; 114; and 136–37.

‘were presented in a tendentious manner’. As an example, he cited what is said about the Seventh Symphony: ‘How can he say it was about Stalin? It’s about the war’.

(10) *‘This threatened to complicate his exit. It seems that he managed to contrive an audience with Enrico Berlinguer, secretary of the Italian Communist Party, who happened to be visiting Moscow, showed him the photograph signed by Shostakovich and complained that he, Mr. Volkov, a friend of Shostakovich, was not allowed to leave the country for political reasons’.*¹⁷⁶

Volkov says that this account is ‘totally fabricated’ and questions the source of Irina’s information. It likely stems from the disinformation circulated by KGB officer Vasily Sitnikov in *l’Unita* and other communist presses around the world.¹⁷⁷

(11) *‘I met Mr. Volkov at a concert and asked him to come and see me (but without his wife, as he had wanted) and leave me a copy of the material he had, which was unauthorized (since it had never been read by Shostakovich). Mr. Volkov replied that the material had already been sent abroad, and if Mr. Volkov was not allowed to leave, the material would be published with additions’.*¹⁷⁸

According to Volkov:

Here Irina deliberately fudges the account of our meeting, which took place at her apartment. Yes, I couldn’t bring Marianna, who would be a friendly witness, but Irina brought ‘her’ witness Tishchenko and opened our conversation with a memorable line: ‘On behalf of the KGB I am asking you to give me the manuscript of the memoirs!’ (verbatim! I’ll never forget it!) Tishchenko sat with a stony face, never uttering a word, probably deeply embarrassed. I was hardly in a position to threaten Irina and all the state power behind her, much less boast of any mythical ‘additions’, since that would complicate my already extremely dangerous situation. I kept my head low.¹⁷⁹

This confrontation is also mentioned in *A Chronicle of Current Events* (1976), pp. 80–81, in what appears to be an account by Tishchenko (the only other person present):

On the advice of the KGB, I. A. Shostakovich asked Volkov to let her read the memoirs before publication. Volkov replied that he had no copies, but would gladly comply with her request abroad.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ I. Shostakovich, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 131.

¹⁷⁷ *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 51. Orlov, in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 97, also states that the ‘official critical denunciation [was] initiated and supported by the KGB’.

¹⁷⁸ I. Shostakovich, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 131.

¹⁷⁹ Volkov, Response. The manuscript of *Testimony* is in one type style throughout. At the time Volkov spoke with Irina, the text had already been sent abroad. How, then, could he have added new material without detection? Are we to believe that Volkov smuggled the same typewriter with him while emigrating? This is highly unlikely. Because typewriters were rare and highly prized in the USSR, their owners were subject to special surveillance.

¹⁸⁰ *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 49 and 77–78.

In fact, the sole manuscript had been sent abroad before 13 November 1974, as stated in the Preface to *Testimony*, p. xviii, and Volkov's response to such inquiries was always the same, no matter the pressure put on him. Orlov recalls that on 17 January 1976,

I arrived at Anatoly Naiman's place, where, somewhat later, Volkov also turned up. Volkov arrived after a meeting at the Union of Composers with Khrennikov who, in the presence of Irina Antonovna Shostakovich, demanded in extremely harsh language that he 'put the manuscript on the table', threatening him that otherwise he would never leave the Soviet Union. Volkov was frantic. He answered, according to him, by saying that he was quite simply unable to put the manuscript on the table because it had already been sent abroad.¹⁸¹

(12) '*Later on, I read in a booklet that came with the phonograph record of the opera Ledi Makbet Mtsenskogo uezda [Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District] conducted by Mstislav Rostropovich, which was released abroad, that Mr. Volkov was Shostakovich's assistant with whom he had written his memoirs*'.¹⁸²

The statement in the booklet accompanying this recording was not written by Volkov and is, apparently, based on a footnote in *Testimony* that clearly describes the scope and nature of his assistance to the composer:

Shostakovich was a member of the editorial board of *Sovetskaya muzyka* and he was expected to give written evaluations of materials submitted for publication. He was often asked for his support when there was a conflict over a musical problem. In such cases I functioned as his assistant, preparing evaluations, replies, and letters at his request. Thus I became something of an intermediary between Shostakovich and the journal's editor in chief.¹⁸³

Volkov assisted Shostakovich only in this capacity and in working on his memoirs.

(13) '*Elsewhere I read that when Shostakovich was alone, he would phone Mr. Volkov and they would see each other in secret*'.¹⁸⁴

Although only Volkov and Shostakovich were present at the meetings, it is not true that these were kept a secret. As Irina stated on 22 November 1978, 'everybody concerned knew about the conversations' (cf. 9, above).

(14) '*Only someone with rich fantasy could invent something like that; it was not true, if only because at that time Shostakovich was very ill and was never left on his own*'.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Henry Orlov, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 118–19.

¹⁸² I. Shostakovich, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 131.

¹⁸³ *Testimony*, p. xvii, note.

¹⁸⁴ I. Shostakovich, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 131.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

Volkov states that Shostakovich was not left alone. ‘He was in his apartment, comfortable and secure with me, and Irina knew that perfectly well. The truth is that Irina was, apparently, glad to see Shostakovich occupied and happy, so that she would be able to engage in shopping and other productive activities to her liking’.¹⁸⁶ The latter is more than plausible. Otherwise, are we to believe that from 1971–74 (i.e., over 1000 days) Irina *never* left Shostakovich’s side to shop, visit friends and family, and the like? Litvinova recalled just such an occasion: that while she visited Shostakovich in Ruza, ‘Irina had gone to the cinema’. Here, as in Volkov’s case, Irina did not leave her husband unattended, but in the good hands of another, because even Shostakovich realized that ‘Irina Antonovna gets tired looking after me, and she too needs a rest’ from time to time (*cf.* p. 27 above).

Finally, although Shostakovich did suffer from health problems during his last years, his activities between 1971 and 1974 resoundingly refute Irina’s portrait of the composer as a helpless invalid, unable to convey his memories to Volkov. Indeed, in 1972 the ‘very ill’ Shostakovich supervised the premières of his Fifteenth Symphony in Moscow and Leningrad, and visited Germany (May–June), Helsinki, London, and Dublin (July), Baku (October), and London again (November). In 1973 he went to Germany (February), Denmark (May), the USA (June), and Estonia (August).¹⁸⁷ The ‘very ill’ composer also, in Fay’s words, ‘retained a high public profile’, ‘continued his longtime ceremonial role as chairman of the Soviet-Austrian Society’, ‘was appointed chairman of the commissions to celebrate the jubilees of Beethoven (1970), Scriabin (1972), and Rachmaninoff (1973)’,¹⁸⁸ and still found both the time and strength to compose his Fifteenth Symphony, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Quartets, *Six Verses of Marina Tsvetayeva*, Op. 143, and *Suite on Texts of Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Op. 145, among others. As Volkov puts it, ‘Yes, Shostakovich was “very ill” all his life, but he also possessed superhuman inner energy!’¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ Volkov, Response.

¹⁸⁷ These travels are mentioned in Fay’s *Shostakovich: A Life*, pp. 272–77, and Lev Grigor’yev and Yakov Platek’s *Shostakovich: About Himself and His Times*, transl. Angus and Neilan Roxburgh, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1981 (hereafter Grigor’yev and Platek), pp. 303 and 311; they are also alluded to by Volkov in *Testimony*, p. xvii: ‘And even though Shostakovich was frequently out of town, we could meet more often [after I began working at *Sovetskaya Muzyka* in 1972]’.

¹⁸⁸ Fay, p. 273.

¹⁸⁹ In *Story of a Friendship*, p. 192, Glikman also portrays a healthier Shostakovich: ‘I visited them on 7 January [1974]. My first impression was that Shostakovich was not looking at all bad. When he was sitting down, at table, for instance, there was almost no trace of his illness. [. . .] During those January days, Shostakovich was lively and talkative in my presence, and often the cottage pleasantly resounded to his laughter’. In addition, Boris Tishchenko recalls that ‘During one of the last months of his life, Shostakovich, already sick [. . .], was deeply involved in a discussion of Weinberg’s opera “The Madonna and the Soldier” in Leningrad [. . .] and wrote the introduction to the piano score of this opera, as well as to the opera “The Passenger”’ (Tishchenko, ‘My Friend Moisei Weinberg’, *Book and Art in the USSR*, 1981, No. 3, pp. 56–57). As Per Skans elaborates in his unpublished book on Weinberg:

in 1975 he [Shostakovich] mobilised sufficient forces to straighten out a conflict which had arisen in Leningrad and was threatening to stop the performance of the opera, furthermore to attend to a number of rehearsals there and to write the introductions mentioned. To do all this (except the writing) he travelled to Leningrad. This was in the early months of the year. We should also keep in mind that he, at that point, hardly can have been less sick than at the time of the conversations with Volkov. Thus, if he were

(15) *'And we lived outside of Moscow at the dacha. There was no opportunity for secret meetings'*.¹⁹⁰

The meetings were not 'secret' (cf. 9 and 13 above) nor was Shostakovich living at the dacha outside of Moscow during the entire period in which he and Volkov met. In fact, Fay's *Shostakovich: A Life* and other standard sources place the composer in Moscow proper on various occasions between 1971 and 1974.¹⁹¹ One hopes that Irina will eventually complete her own detailed chronology of Shostakovich's life¹⁹² if only to clarify when he was at his apartment in Moscow and could have met with Volkov.

(16) *'Mr. Volkov's name is nowhere to be found in Shostakovich's correspondence of the time, in his letters to Isaak Glikman, for example'*.¹⁹³

First, Volkov has never claimed that he was a friend of Shostakovich, but rather a journalist doing his job, writing down whatever the composer told him. Second, one cannot accurately gauge a person's relationship with the composer by how many times he or she appears in his letters. Even Tishchenko, a student and friend of Shostakovich, is mentioned only once in the letters to Glikman.¹⁹⁴ Moreover, the name of Shostakovich's longtime nemesis, Khrennikov, is completely absent from the Glikman letters, as is that of Sofiya Khentova, the composer's official Soviet biographer.¹⁹⁵ Regarding her father's correspondence, Galina Shostakovich warns:

Alongside many short notes there are many substantial letters partly revealing the composer's moods and attitudes. I deliberately used the word 'partly' as people belonging to Father's generation well knew their correspondence was opened and censored. This meant that Father had to

able (though with effort) to do all this in 1975, he must have been able to do the conversations. Glikman gives an interesting account of these days in Leningrad at the end of the letter book, with the dates of Shostakovich's stay there.

¹⁹⁰ I. Shostakovich, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 131–32.

¹⁹¹ See, for example, Fay, pp. 272, 275–78, and 280–81. Shostakovich's letters and Glikman's commentaries in *Story of a Friendship* also place the composer in Moscow at least on the following dates: 9 September 1971 (p. 181), 9–12 May 1972 (p. 186), 16 January 1973 (p. 188), 9 March 1973 (p. 189), 1 August 1973 (p. 190), early September 1973 (p. 190), 20 September 1973 (p. 191), 21 January 1974 (p. 194), 11 February 1974 (p. 195), 2 May 1974 (p. 195), and 12 May 1974 (p. 195). One letter in the *Letters of Dmitri Dmitriyevich Shostakovich to Boris Tishchenko*, transl. Asya Ardova, Kompozitor, St. Petersburg, 2001, further places the composer in Moscow on 13 February 1973 (p. 41), and three letters in *Dmitry Shostakovich: v pis'makh i dokumentakh* do the same on 28 January 1972 (p. 431), 25 July 1972 (p. 489), and September 1973 (p. 437).

¹⁹² Mentioned in 'Remembering Shostakovich', *DSCH Journal*, 6, Winter 1996, p. 5.

¹⁹³ I. Shostakovich, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 132.

¹⁹⁴ *Story of a Friendship*, p. 141: [18 February 1967] 'The composer Boris Tishchenko paid me a visit yesterday. He showed me his Symphony No. 3. Much of it I liked tremendously'. Glikman, on pp. 201–202, also recalls Shostakovich talking about Tishchenko's Fourth Symphony and *Yaroslavna* on 24 February and 7 March 1975, respectively, but these are not mentioned in any of the actual letters.

¹⁹⁵ In the letter of 27 January 1962, *ibid.*, pp. 100–101, only Khrennikov's opera *Into the Storm* is mentioned once, in passing. Regarding the absence of Khentova's name, cf. p. 215 below.

resort to allegories and hints, and he certainly did this in a masterly way.¹⁹⁶

Glikman adds:

He wanted to discuss certain matters which would have been difficult to confide to paper: ‘After all’, he said with a meaningful smile, ‘there are often problems with paper’, meaning that letters were always liable to be opened and inspected.¹⁹⁷

Finally, Volkov notes that ‘after our mutual decision to publish them [the memoirs] abroad we both kept quiet, for understandable reasons [. . .]. Shostakovich was not a suicidal fool. His letters to Glikman only prove that’.¹⁹⁸

(17) *‘I can vouch that this [Chital. D. Shostakovich] is how Shostakovich signed articles by different authors planned for publication. Such material was regularly delivered to him from Sovetskaia muzyka for review, then the material was returned to the editorial department, where Mr. Volkov was employed’.*¹⁹⁹

Irina here seems to suggest that Volkov had access to articles written and signed by Shostakovich that were intended for publication in *Sovetskaya Muzyka*. If so, why didn’t all of these articles appear in the journal during his tenure there? In fact, only the material on Meyerhold that opens Chapter 3 of *Testimony* appeared in *Sovetskaya Muzyka* between 1972–75 and, even then, only in a noticeably different version.²⁰⁰

(18) *‘Unfortunately, the American experts, who did not speak Russian, were unable and certainly had no need to correlate Shostakovich’s words with the contents of the text’.*²⁰¹

Volkov states that ‘the experts that I knew about most certainly spoke Russian. That’s why they were chosen as experts’.²⁰² As documented in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 97–126, one of these was the respected Russian musicologist and Shostakovich scholar Henry Orlov.

(19) *‘As for the additions, Mr. Volkov himself told me that he had spoken to a lot of different people about Shostakovich, in particular Lev Lebedinsky, who later became an*

¹⁹⁶ Ardov, p. 128.

¹⁹⁷ 7 January [1974], *Story of a Friendship*, p. 192. Volkov, in *Shostakovich and Stalin*, p. 63, also comments on the monitoring of letters. Citing recently available documents, he notes that already in August 1922, during a single month, ‘the workers of the section of political control in the state security agencies read almost half of the 300,000 letters that came to Russia from abroad and all 285,000 letters mailed from Russia to the West. It is not hard to guess that the scope of censorship inside the country was not less impressive’.

¹⁹⁸ Volkov, Response. Also cf. pp. 212–15 for another reason why Shostakovich may have refrained from mentioning *Testimony* and Volkov in his letters to Glikman.

¹⁹⁹ I. Shostakovich, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 132.

²⁰⁰ Cf. pp. 85–89 below.

²⁰¹ I. Shostakovich, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 132.

²⁰² Volkov, Response.

inaccurate memoirist, and with whom Shostakovich had ended all relations a long time before'.²⁰³

Volkov responds:

During my lifetime I spoke to multitudes about Shostakovich and his music, both in the USSR and abroad, as would any fan of Shostakovich. Lebedinsky was never my source for *Testimony*, nor did he ever pretend to be one, although he was, judging from his writings, a vain enough person. My one and only source for *Testimony* was Shostakovich himself. Lebedinsky approached me in New York (from Geneva) after the publication of *Testimony* was announced, and we started to correspond.²⁰⁴

Volkov, who has a copy of Lebedinsky's 'inaccurate' memoirs in his archive, notes that they 'will prove to be deeply embarrassing to Irina' when they are published in full (thus far, only excerpts have appeared in Russia). Suffice it to say here that Irina had a personal relationship with Lebedinsky before she married Shostakovich, and the two of them again came into conflict over the royalties from *Rayok*, when Lebedinsky claimed to be author of that work's libretto.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ I. Shostakovich, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 132. Irina leveled still another accusation in an interview in 2009: 'He [Volkov] fabricated it in secret and added fantastic things. He abused my husband to take revenge on people whom he [Volkov] hated' (Sirén, 'Lesket tuomitsevat Volkovin kirjaamat muistelmat' ('The widows condemn the memoirs written down by Volkov', *Helsingin Sanomat*, 19 June 2009, p. C 1). Needless to say, this makes no sense and is not supported by any evidence.

²⁰⁴ Volkov, Response.

²⁰⁵ Cf. Lebedinsky, 'The Origin of Shostakovich's *Rayok*', *Tempo*, 173, June 1990, pp. 31–32, as well as 'O Chesti Mastera', *Pravda*, 19 March 1991 (transl. as 'The Master's Honor', *DSCJ Journal*, 11, Summer 1999, pp. 44–46), and 'Code, Quotation and Collage', *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 472–82. For more on the notion of Lebedinsky as a source for *Testimony*, cf. pp. 161–64 below.

Irina has always carefully guarded her rights to the Shostakovich estate. Recall that the first reaction to *Testimony* was not that it was a forgery, but that 'it belonged to Mrs. Shostakovich' (Erwin A. Glikes of Harper and Row, as quoted by Herbert Mitgang in 'Shostakovich Memoir, Smuggled Out, is Due', *The New York Times*, 10 September 1979, p. C14; hereafter Mitgang). Irina was even embroiled in a bitter dispute with Galina Shostakovich over the division of the composer's property. Initially,

it was agreed that the apartment at Nezhdanova street with all its contents and the archive of Shostakovich will go to Irina Antonovna, and the children will be the owners of the house in Zhukovka that Shostakovich bought prior to his [third] marriage. Moreover, on the plot, not far from the house, Irina Antonovna would build a summerhouse for herself.

[. . . Later, however,] Irina Antonovna asked — more and more insistently — to transfer the study of Shostakovich in Zhukovka to her, for safekeeping and a future museum. Galina Shostakovich refused to do so, thinking that the things that were in possession of the widow — the apartment, archive, the summerhouse she built — took care of her completely, whereas the study of Shostakovich could be cared for by his daughter.

There was conflict, the widow sued [. . .]. The trial lingered. Years. The date was set. The trial was started. Then delayed. Two families — that of Shostakovich's daughter and his widow, living on the same plot, in neighboring houses, did not meet, did not talk: enemies.

T. Khrennikov, whose influence extends beyond the Union of Composers, which he headed, got involved.

(20) *'A friend of Shostakovich's, Leo Arnshtam, a cinema director, saw Mr. Volkov on his request, and Arnshtam later regretted it. A story about a telephone conversation with Stalin was written from his words'*.²⁰⁶

Volkov states that 'I conveyed to Arnshtam once my magazine's request that he write something on the subject of music in movies, that's all. I don't even know if he ever wrote it. As I remember, we chatted briefly about Glinka, with whom Arnshtam seemed to be fascinated'.²⁰⁷ He categorically denies that Arnshtam told him about the Stalin phone call, 'which was absolutely taboo at the time'. It is curious that Irina would claim that this story stems from Arnshtam. The latter was not present on 16 March 1949²⁰⁸ when the phone rang nor does Irina herself have any firsthand knowledge of the event: she was only fifteen at the time and would not even meet Shostakovich for another ten years (*cf.* note 149). On the other hand, we know that Shostakovich himself sometimes spoke of this call 'From Above'. According to his student Gennady Belov:

Shostakovich did once tell us about how he had met Stalin several times. He told us about the time he had to go to the Peace Congress in the U.S.A., and in the night Stalin called him, asking the composer how he was feeling. And Shostakovich replied that he had stomach pains. Stalin wished him a 'bon voyage' to New York and when the discussion turned to the fact that Shostakovich's music was being played more and more rarely,²⁰⁹ Stalin reassured him that his music would be played without delay. And in relating all of that we all noticed that Shostakovich had begun to perspire — quite markedly. And then he said no more.²¹⁰

(21) *'The book was translated into many languages and published in a number of countries, except Russia. Mr. Volkov at first claimed that the American publishers were against the Russian edition, then that the royalties in Russia were not high enough, then*

The trial was stopped. Galina closed up the study on the second floor, and she and her family settled on the first floor, spending their summers in Komarovo' (Sofiya Khentova, 'Zhenshchiny v zhizni Shostakovicha' ('The Women in Shostakovich's Life'), *Vremya i mi*, 112, 1991, pp. 277–78).

²⁰⁶ I. Shostakovich, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 132.

²⁰⁷ Volkov, Response.

²⁰⁸ Ardov, pp. 71–72. Maxim recalls: 'When Stalin telephoned, my father, my mother and I were all at home. My father took the call in his study, while my mother was listening to the conversation on another telephone in the entrance hall. I was so keen to hear Stalin's voice live that I begged her to give me the receiver and as I managed to persuade her, I heard part of the conversation between my father and Stalin'. Wilson, p. 212, note 10, states that 'According to certain sources, Leo Arnshtam was also present on this occasion'. However, she removed this mention of him in the second edition of her book. Fay, p. 172, places the phone call between late-February and mid-March 1949; on 16 March, Stalin rescinded Order No. 17, which had banned performances of Shostakovich's music.

²⁰⁹ For the interesting list of works by Shostakovich and others 'not recommended for performance', *cf.* 'Ein historisches Dokument — Die Anordnung Nr. 17 (1948)' in Ernst Kuhn, Andreas Mehrmeyer, and Günter Wolter (eds.), *Dmitri Schostakowitsch und das jüdische musikalische Erbe (Schostakowitsch Studien Band 3)*, Verlag Ernst Kuhn, Berlin, 2001 (hereafter Kuhn).

²¹⁰ Gennadi Belov, 'St. Petersburg Special: Part 2', *DSCH Journal*, 14, January 2001, p. 46.

*that those offering to publish it in Russia were crooks, and, finally, that he had sold his manuscript to a private archive and it was not available anymore. Retranslation into Russian relieves the author of responsibility and permits new liberties’.*²¹¹

Volkov confirms that all of the reasons stated above for *Testimony* not being printed in its original language are true. In addition, he notes that Irina herself forbade publication of the book in Russian. This has been confirmed not only by Flora Litvinova,²¹² but by someone who knows Irina and her relatives and who confided in 2003: ‘Due to the negative opinion of Sh[ostakovich]’s family, this book (like in the Soviet times) is forbidden for publication in Russia by Irina Antonovna’.²¹³ The same source elaborated on this point two years later:

The idea of not publishing *Testimony* belongs, of course, to Irina Antonovna Shostakovich. I’m her close acquaintance, and also a close friend of some of her relatives. So, one of them just related to me that as long as Irina lives, *Testimony* will never be published in Russian. Some reasons can be easily explained — Irina had great troubles with the KGB after the publication of this book — the fact [is] that she still can’t forgive Volkov.²¹⁴ You’ll never get the truth from Irina Shostakovich concerning Volkov. [. . . However,] no matter what the sources of the *Testimony* are, they contain 100% of truth [. . .].²¹⁵

Now that a copy of the Russian text is in the Shostakovich Family Archive, will Irina help to make it better known to her countrymen or continue to limit access to it?

At the end of her article, Irina mentions how Shostakovich’s signature was requested for a denunciation of Sakharov in *Pravda* in 1973. Although he refused, his name was still included in the published document, without his approval.²¹⁶ This raises a legitimate question from Volkov: ‘So Shostakovich could (and did!) resist, stubbornly and doggedly, signing material — even under pressure from the authorities — when he thought that it was wrong or suspicious, at least at this stage in his life. Why did he succumb so easily in Volkov’s case?’²¹⁷

Given the title of Irina’s article, ‘An Answer to Those Who Still Abuse Shostakovich’, it is worth noting that the *Testimony* debate has made for some very strange bedfellows. In particular, Irina and Tishchenko have joined sides with Khrennikov,²¹⁸ one of the composer’s arch enemies, in denouncing the book, as well as

²¹¹ I. Shostakovich, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 132.

²¹² Phone conversation between Litvinova and Feofanov, 22 April 2000.

²¹³ Email to Ho, 26 February 2003. Copy on file. We have agreed to keep the identity of this source confidential.

²¹⁴ Email to Ho, 2 June 2005. Copy on file.

²¹⁵ Two emails to Ho, 3 June 2005. Copy on file.

²¹⁶ I. Shostakovich, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 132–33.

²¹⁷ Volkov, Response.

²¹⁸ In an interview in 2001, Khrennikov claimed that he ‘used his authority to protect the composers in the union’ and that the criticism he leveled at Shostakovich and others in 1948 ‘was not so pleasant . . . to hear, but . . . was no harm to them’. He concluded ‘I’ve never done a bad thing I should be ashamed of or regret so that my conscience would not let me sleep’. When contacted by phone, Irina Shostakovich ‘replied to

with scholars such as Fay and Taruskin, who have repeatedly criticized her husband. Fay has described Shostakovich as a ‘wuss’,²¹⁹ and continues to consider his courage in writing works such as *Rayok*²²⁰ and *From Jewish Folk Poetry* more myth than reality (cf. pp. 166–76 below). She also mentions his ‘persistent stance of non-resistance to authority’ and ‘moral impotence and servile complicity’,²²¹ without disputing such views. Taruskin similarly questions Shostakovich’s courage²²² and has twice joked about the composer being ‘perhaps Soviet Russia’s most loyal musical son’,²²³ He also claims that the composer ‘did have a history of collaboration to live down’,²²⁴ describes *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk* as ‘a profoundly inhumane work of art’, and concludes that

its technique of dehumanizing victims is the perennial method of those who would perpetrate and justify genocide, whether of kulaks in the Ukraine, Jews in Greater Germany, or aborigines in Tasmania.

questions about Khrennikov with a long, angry-sounding torrent of Russian, which a translator on the line reduced to “I have nothing to say on that matter”. Before hanging up, however, Shostakovich blurted out that Khrennikov “did not have the right to have a clear conscience” (Jeremy Eichler, ‘The Denouncer: A Meeting with Stalin’s Music Man, Who Outlived Them All’, *The Boston Globe*, 2 September 2007, on the Internet at <http://www.boston.com/ae/music/articles/2007/09/02/the_denouncer/?page=full>).

²¹⁹ Bernstein, in ‘Shostakovich in Shades of Grey’, reports:

Fay’s sense of Shostakovich the man is ‘a little hard to put into words. He was a brilliant, brilliant man — talented beyond anything that most of us can imagine. And . . . he was a very conflicted person. On the one hand, he resisted and resented some of the things that happened to him [under the communist regime]. On the other hand, he was a wuss. He knew this, and it was a source of great agony to him. So in a sense he ate himself up from inside’.

²²⁰ Fay devotes only a few paragraphs to the *Antiformalist Rayok* in her book, p. 165, and, in doing so, dismisses it merely as a ‘party skit, a diversion’ rather than acknowledging the composer’s courage in writing this anti-Stalinist satire in the wake of the Historic Decree of 1948, even if ‘for the drawer’. In contrast, we devote sixteen pages to *Rayok* in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, Manashir Yakubov writes about it at length in ‘Shostakovich’s *Anti-Formalist Rayok*’, *Shostakovich in Context*, ed. Bartlett, pp. 135–57, and Irina Shostakovich states: ‘If you want to know what he [Shostakovich] really thought, you need to listen to a piece of bitter musical satire [*Rayok*] he composed after Khrennikov’s lambasting and had to keep hidden for many years while the intimidation continued’ (Martin Sixsmith, ‘The Secret Rebel’, *The Guardian*, 15 July 2006).

²²¹ Fay, p. 269.

²²² In ‘Casting a Great Composer as a Fictional Hero’, p. AR 43, Taruskin writes:

In 1960, by which time his international fame offered him a shield, Shostakovich gave in to pressure and joined the Communist Party. The autobiographical Eighth Quartet, which places his musical monogram in conjunction with a famous prison song, was an act of atonement for this display of weakness. [. . .] Shostakovich’s likely motive in dictating whatever portion of *Testimony* proves to be truly his was exculpation for [such] failures of nerve’.

He goes on to say ‘It is important to quash the fantasy image of Shostakovich as a dissident, no matter how much it feeds his popularity, because it dishonors actual dissidents like Mr. Solzhenitsyn or Andrei Sakharov, who took risks and suffered reprisals. Shostakovich did not take risks’.

²²³ Also cf. pp. 176–80 below.

²²⁴ Taruskin, ‘Dictator’, p. 35.

So, one must admit, if ever an opera deserved to be banned it was this one, and matters are not changed by the fact that its actual ban was for wrong and hateful reasons.²²⁵

Is it really Volkov who abuses Shostakovich or those who attack his music and demean his character?

²²⁵ Taruskin, 'Entr'acte: The Lessons of Lady M.', *Defining Russia Musically*, p. 509, with no indication that he was being ironic.

III. The Russian Text of *Testimony*

1. The 'Moscow Typescript': Another Rush to Judgment

One of the major articles in *A Shostakovich Casebook* is Fay's discussion of a photocopy of the Russian text of *Testimony* that she refers to as the 'Moscow typescript'²²⁶ because it is now in the Shostakovich Family Archive in Moscow. What is remarkable is that Fay does not provide any provenance for this material nor does she establish chain of custody for it. From where did it come?²²⁷ When did it arrive? And who made the changes in the text? Are we to believe that this text appeared anonymously, in plain-paper wrapping, on the Archive's doorstep? It is worth remembering that on 8 September 2004, photocopied documents casting a negative light on George W. Bush's National Guard service surfaced just before the U. S. presidential election. A major American news organization, CBS News, accepted these as genuine, without questioning the source or accuracy of the material. Eventually, the documents were dismissed as forgeries circulated by Bill Burkett, a longtime Bush critic.²²⁸

Could such a situation occur in the Shostakovich arena as well? Has Fay thoroughly vetted the Moscow typescript to justify the conclusions drawn in her text? The answer appears to be 'no', even though the media again has been quick to praise her detective work as a 'coup de grâce',²²⁹ 'Sherlockian',²³⁰ 'an excellent example of seasoned, cutting-edge scholarship',²³¹ and 'a vigorous forensic examination'.²³² The question is, is Fay's work 'cutting-edge' or cutting-corners research? Moreover, has her 'forensic examination' been performed thoroughly and even on the correct body?

²²⁶ Fairclough, p. 453, erroneously claims that Fay has examined the 'original Russian typescript'. As detailed on the following pages, what Fay has seen may be *derived from* the original Russian typescript, but clearly differs in significant details from what others who worked with the Russian text saw in 1979.

²²⁷ Taruskin, in *On Russian Music*, p. 320, states that in 2000 'a photocopy was passed along to her [Fay] by Irina Antonovna Shostakovich, who had lately received it from an acquaintance in the United States'. This still does not provide a reliable, unbroken chain of custody for this material. Who was this acquaintance and from where did he or she get this copy?

²²⁸ On 10 January 2005, an independent panel concluded that CBS News 'failed to follow basic journalistic principles in the preparation and reporting' of this *60 Minutes Wednesday* broadcast. According to the panel, "'myopic zeal" led the program to air a story critical of Bush's service record that was based on documents that might have been forged'. Dan Rather later acknowledged that CBS had only obtained photocopies of the documents, not the originals. On 20 September 2004, CBS News stated that 'it could no longer be sure the documents were genuine', then fired four individuals responsible for preparing the story (cf. <<http://www.cnn.com/205/SHOWBIZ/TV/01/10/cbs.guard/>>).

²²⁹ James Oestreich, 'Shostakovich: New Questions, New Clues', *The New York Times*, 13 August 2004, p. E1.

²³⁰ Alex Ross, 'Unauthorized: The Final Betrayal of Dmitri Shostakovich', *The New Yorker*, 80/25, 6 September 2004, pp. 164-66.

²³¹ Jon Gonder, *CAML Review*, 32/3, November 2004, on the Internet at <<http://www.yorku.ca/caml/en/review/32-3/shostakovich.htm>>.

²³² Alex Ross, 'Free Shostakovich!'; on the Internet at <http://www.therestisnoise.com/2004/07/the_case_of_the.html>. Ironically, Fay's article received an ASCAP-Deems Taylor Award in 2005, the same honor bestowed on *Testimony* itself in 1980.

Finally, has she reported all of the pertinent information? When asked about the Moscow typescript, Volkov responded:

I would like to state here, categorically, that at no time did Fay hold in her hands or have any other access to the original manuscript of ‘Testimony’. And obviously in no way can I be held responsible or help to trace [the] provenances of all the fakes and maliciously altered ‘copies’ of the manuscript that are at this time floating around.²³³

Fay, too, initially exercises caution, stating that ‘it is unclear how many of these circulating copies [of the Russian text] reproduce the original typescript bearing Shostakovich’s “authentic” signatures and how many might be retyped transcripts’. Only one paragraph later, however, she writes that the material in the Shostakovich Family Archive ‘is, to all appearances, a photocopy of the original Russian typescript of *Testimony*’.²³⁴ She further concludes on the following page that this Moscow typescript is ‘an exact copy of the *Testimony* typescript used in making the published English translation, rather than an interim version or a retyped copy’.²³⁵ The validity of Fay’s assertions will be examined below. First, however, it would be worth reviewing the history of the original typescript.

a. The Original Typescript

According to Volkov, the manuscript was typed in spring 1974 and submitted chapter by chapter to Shostakovich for approval. The composer then returned these via his wife, in a sealed envelope.²³⁶ While Shostakovich was still alive and before this typescript was sent abroad, it was hidden in the home of a Russian couple, according to Swedish musicologist Christer Bouij, who learned this directly from them in Moscow in 1992 and confirmed it again in May 2000.²³⁷ This information corroborates the existence of the typescript before Volkov’s emigration and refutes Soviet suggestions early on that

²³³ Letter to Ho, 20 July 2004.

²³⁴ Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 28.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

²³⁶ Cf. the letter from Ann Harris, 9 April 1979, quoted on p. 26, and also p. 44 above.

²³⁷ Bouij is the author of *Dmitrij Sjostakovitj och den sovjetiska kulturpolitiken*, Uppsala University, 1984. He reported the following to Allan Ho on 21 November 1999, after *Shostakovich Reconsidered* was published. Because the couple has asked to remain unidentified (email from Bouij to Ho, 30 May 2000), we have deleted their names from his statement:

I met [. . .] in their flat in Moscow 23 August 1992, when they told me about *Testimony* and that the manuscript had been hidden in their flat some time before the death of Shostakovich. [. . .] They did not say this as admirers of Shostakovich. They were very critical about his contradictory character. Why on earth had he allowed himself to say so many things for support of the regime in the 60-ies when it had been possible for him to get out of it. After that visit I was absolutely sure that they had read *Testimony* before the book was published in the west.

Volkov, in a phone conversation with Ho on 12 March 2006, confirmed Bouij’s information.

Testimony was some sort of CIA fabrication.²³⁸ When Shostakovich wrote the inscription on what would become the frontispiece photo of the book, Volkov told him that the manuscript was already ‘in the West’, where it had been taken, piecemeal, by various couriers. Thereafter, whenever Irina Shostakovich, Khrennikov, or others asked Volkov to show them the manuscript, he replied that he had no copies.²³⁹ Henry Orlov notes that as late as 1978, Volkov was still awaiting delivery of parts of the text.²⁴⁰ Eventually, the remaining portions arrived and Harper and Row set about to authenticate the Shostakovich signatures and to evaluate the content of the memoirs, engaging experts such as Orlov to examine the text.²⁴¹

Orlov’s letter to Harper and Row, written immediately after examining the Russian text, is reproduced in *A Shostakovich Casebook*²⁴² and itself provides information that calls into question Fay’s conclusions about the Moscow typescript. For many years, the original typescript was kept in a Swiss bank. Finally, in 1997–98, Volkov sold it to a private collector. Until this original typescript becomes available for study, questions about the accuracy, layout, and completeness of the Moscow typescript will persist for the simple reason that the latter is inconsistent with the statements and recollections of people who examined and worked with the Russian text in the late-1970s.

b. The Heikinheimo Typescript

In 1979, the Russian text of *Testimony* was made available to Antonina W. Bouis, Dr. Heddy Pross-Weerth, and Dr. Seppo Heikinheimo for preparation of the English, German, and Finnish editions, respectively. On the strict orders of Harper and Row, the translators were supposed to return the material provided and not circulate unauthorized copies of the Russian text. Bouis and Pross-Weerth followed these stipulations; however, Heikinheimo, by his own admission in the 1989 second Finnish edition and again in his own memoirs, began not only showing but loaning copies of the Russian text to some fifty Soviets, ex-Soviets, and others, even before any of published editions had been released.²⁴³

²³⁸ Cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 52–53. Galina Drubachevskaya also read parts of the typescript while it was being prepared (*Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 316).

²³⁹ Cf. pp. 46–47 above.

²⁴⁰ Kovnatskaya, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 119. Orlov met with Volkov in Boston in 1978, where the latter was giving two lectures at Harvard and Orlov was serving as his ‘interpreter, intermediary, and guide’: ‘Volkov was even then very much in a state of consternation, because all parts of the manuscript had still not arrived. As he described it, they were arriving through various channels. He held onto these pieces of the manuscript with a passion, not letting any of them out of his hands, saying he was surrounded by “capitalist sharks”’.

²⁴¹ According to Erwin A. Glikes, Harper and Row spent over two years negotiating for and authenticating the text (Mitgang, p. C14). In a letter from Volkov to Orlov of 23 September 1976, mention is already made that ‘a certain publisher is interested in “the idea of Shostakovich’s memoirs”’ (Kovnatskaya, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 118).

²⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 111–16.

²⁴³ In ‘Kymmenen vuotta aitouskiistaa’, pp. 351–52, Heikinheimo writes (transl. by Lång):

During the years [1979–89] I have shown the [Russian] manuscript to all Soviet artists and émigrés who have been interested in it. Before the beginning of the ‘glasnost’ period, the opinions of these approximately fifty artists touchingly complied with the

The sometimes significantly altered Russian text loaned by Heikinheimo is the only one in circulation that appears to stem directly from the original typescript. However, questions remain about the accuracy, completeness, and even source of this material.²⁴⁴ In his own memoirs, Heikinheimo claimed that he received the Russian text from Harper and Row only on 27 November 1979, after a proper agreement was signed between the American publisher and the Finnish Otava.²⁴⁵ Whether the Russian typescript that Heikinheimo loaned to Per Skans more than two months earlier, in September 1979, also came directly from Harper and Row or from an unofficial, unauthorized source is unknown. This text reflects some of the editing made by the American publisher, but deviates in other respects from that edition and from the Russian text submitted to Henry Orlov for examination and to Heddy Pross-Weerth for translation into German.

geographical division: the Soviet citizens said they thought it more or less smacking [of humbug], the émigrés, on the other hand, thought it the real thing. For example, the cellist-conductor Mstislav Rostropovich even maintained that ‘Khrennikov drove Prokofiev to a premature death’ (*Helsingin Sanomat*, 5 December 1979). In his opinion, one can very clearly hear Shostakovich’s own voice in the memoirs. Also, the conductors Rudolf Barshai and Kirill Kondraskin [sic], who had conducted premières of Shostakovich’s symphonies and had known the composer for thirty years, thought that the book is genuine, as well as the theatre director Yuri Lyubimov. The other ‘witnesses’ are of a bit younger generation, and they didn’t know Shostakovich as well. Therefore, I won’t list their names here, but just be content to mention one ‘black sheep’: the violinist Gidon Kremer supposed that about 80 percent of the book is by Shostakovich and 20 percent by Volkov. He, too, has now [in 1989] revised his earlier stand, and informed me that he thinks the book is 100-percent genuine. [. . .] Emil Gilels said before his death that the book is ‘of course authentic’, and Sviatoslav Richter is known to support the idea of authenticity. This piece of knowledge is not immediate, but I have no reason to suspect the middleman, Andrei Gavrilov [Richter’s view is also mentioned in Rasmussen’s *Sviatoslav Richter: Pianist*, p. 129—Eds.].

In *Mätämunan muistelmat*, pp. 283 and 285, Heikinheimo also reports copying the manuscript of 404 sheets in October 1990 for Vytautas Landsbergis, a musicologist who the same year became President of Lithuania, because the latter ‘knew Russian much better than English’. (According to Mrs. Gene Kuriliene [13 September 2004], Mr. Landsbergis’s assistant, he no longer has this in his archive). Later, on p. 475, Heikinheimo writes that ‘all of his Russian friends’ who visited his summer residence read the manuscript. He then lists persons who visited the place, but doesn’t make clear whether precisely these people read the memoirs: Galina Gortchakova, Valery Gergiyev, Aleksandr Toradze, Viktor Tretyakov, Dmitri Hvorostovsky, and Aleksey Sultanov.

Heikinheimo’s copy is also the likely source of the excerpts from the Russian text on the Internet at <<http://uic.nnov.ru/~bis/dsch.html>>. Il’ya Blinov, identified on the website as a fifth-year student at the Nizhni Novgorod (formerly Gor’ky) Conservatory, states that one of his professors, now in Germany, had the manuscript for one night, and that after his family copied it by hand (there were no photocopiers in the Soviet Union), he re-typed what they wrote.

²⁴⁴ Heikinheimo, in ‘Musiiikkierros: Solomon Volkov kiistojen kohteena’ (‘Musical Circuit: Solomon Volkov as the Target of Controversy’), *Helsingin Sanomat*, 6 March 1990, p. B8, reports that Volkov gave another copy of the Russian typescript to Nikolay Gubenko, an influential director and the Minister of Culture during the Soviet Union’s final years (1989–91), while the latter was in New York. Volkov categorically denies doing so (phone conversation with the authors, 15 July 2006) and no other evidence of this ‘phantom’ copy has been found.

²⁴⁵ *Mätämunan muistelmat*, pp. 392–93. Cf. translation in note 739 below.

Considering the confidentiality and security with which Harper and Row handled the original typescript, it seems most peculiar that it would entrust this material to Heikinheimo six weeks *before* a contract was signed with Otava. Even consultants to Harper and Row were allowed to examine the Russian text only under close supervision, as mentioned in two letters from Ann Harris to Orlov:

[9 April 1979; original proposal]

The terms under which this reading will take place are that it will be reviewed in our offices at 10 East 53rd Street, New York, N.Y.: and that in order to preserve the confidentiality of the memoirs, the manuscript must be read in the presence either of myself or my editorial assistant. Any notes that you may make while reviewing it will have to remain in our possession except while you are reading it or preparing your opinion. In order that you have access to these notes while preparing your opinion, I or my editorial assistant will be present during that process as well. When you have completed it, you will give us the written opinion and your notes. Confidentiality requires that you not retain any copies of the opinion, the notes, or the manuscript.

For the same reasons of confidentiality, we must ask that you agree not to disclose any information about the manuscript without prior written permission.²⁴⁶

[26 August 1979; revised proposal]

The manuscript is to be reviewed by you in my presence in order to preserve the confidentiality of its contents. You may take such notes during your reading of the manuscript as are necessary to enable you to prepare your report on its authenticity. [. . .] It is understood that Harper & Row shall own all rights to this report; and that you will not publish or otherwise disclose any portion of it without our express written consent. Upon receipt of the report, we will pay you the sum of \$500 in full consideration of your services in reviewing the manuscript and preparing your report.

Because of the sensitive nature of the Memoirs and their origins, we ask that you agree not to inform anyone outside of your immediate family of the fact that you have reviewed the manuscript at our request. We also request that you not disclose or discuss the contents of the manuscript without our written permission or until such time as the book itself appears.²⁴⁷

Given the very limited number of people who ever had access to the original typescript and the care with which it was handled, we believe that the Moscow typescript is merely another copy of Heikinheimo's altered text. The curious thing is that Fay never considered this possibility, even though we mentioned in *Shostakovich Reconsidered* that

²⁴⁶ Kohnatskaya, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 102.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 105–106.

Heikinheimo had circulated copies of the Russian text to some fifty others.²⁴⁸ It is equally curious that Fay had never encountered this text earlier, despite having investigated the memoirs for some twenty-five years. After *A Shostakovich Casebook* was published detailing Fay's major 'discovery' of the Russian text, Allan Ho asked Finnish journalist Vesa Sirén to inquire in *Helsingin Sanomat* about other copies of Heikinheimo's typescript.²⁴⁹ Just eleven days later, someone with still another copy of this text contacted Sirén,²⁵⁰ and after examining this material the latter concluded that Fay's Moscow typescript is a copy of the same.²⁵¹ We know that Heikinheimo was authorized by Harper and Row to prepare the Finnish translation and, therefore, had access to the original Russian text or some derivative of it. We do not know, however, which alterations were already in the materials provided to Heikinheimo and which were made during the preparation of his own Finnish translation. As we shall disclose later, a number of the changes in the Heikinheimo typescript may stem from Heikinheimo himself rather than from Volkov or Harper and Row.

Although we were aware of the existence of the Heikinheimo typescript at the time *Shostakovich Reconsidered* was written, we were unaware of the extent to which it had been altered.²⁵² We first examined a copy of this on 25 April 1999 (i.e., shortly after Heikinheimo's death and the publication of *Shostakovich Reconsidered*) through the assistance of Per Skans.²⁵³ In 'Testimony, I Presume?' on pp. 253–58 below, Skans

²⁴⁸ *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 218.

²⁴⁹ Vesa Sirén, 'Missä ovat Heikinheimon Volkov-paperit?' within the article 'Totuudet taistelevat Šostakovitš-kirjoissa', *Helsingin Sanomat*, 3 October 2004, p. C3.

²⁵⁰ Email to Ho, 14 October 2004.

²⁵¹ Emails to Ho, 22 and 26 October 2004: 'Ok, one copy emerged from Helsinki. The owner doesn't want his name published, but he is the son of [a] Helsinki music person, who was fluent in Russian. He thinks his father might not have gotten this straight from Heikinheimo, but is sure that this copy originates from Seppo. He let me copy his copy at our office. [. . .] There are numerous markings / pastings / in these pages. For example, pages 63, 106 (some R[u]ssian handwriting, Volkov himself??), 122, 123, 220, 223, 236, 293, 298, 326, 335, 390 have markings, pastings etc. in them. It seems to be certain, that copy of the "Russian manuscript" [the Moscow typescript] is from the same source as this one. However, Ms. Fay does not write about every pasting, change, marking etc.'

²⁵² We first contacted Heikinheimo on 21 April 1993 to invite him to be a contributor to *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, but he replied saying he was unable to accept. We later requested, in a letter of 5 September 1996, to see a copy of the Russian text he was circulating, but he did not respond.

²⁵³ We first learned that Skans had access to a copy of the Heikinheimo typescript on 6 January 1999, when he wrote to us after he had read *Shostakovich Reconsidered*:

I should tell you that I interviewed Rudolf Barshai for Swedish Radio (I was an Editor of Music there for nearly 30 years) just a couple of months after *Testimony* had appeared, and after the interview we came to speak of this sensational release. Barshai was more or less flabbergasted when hearing I had access to a complete photocopy of the typewritten original, including Shostakovich's signatures and all, and I lent it to him overnight. The next day he appeared with red eyes, having read all night and saying that it must be absolutely genuine — he had personally heard Shostakovich tell quite a few of the things included in the book, and the wordings were so very identical that he had the feeling of hearing Shostakovich's voice when reading them! If you wonder from where I had this copy, it was from Seppo Heikinheimo. I had promised him not to tell anybody about this source, but since his suicide I don't consider this promise to be valid anymore.

recounts how he (1) first learned about *Testimony* in spring 1979 from Heikinheimo; (2) was loaned a copy of this Russian text by Heikinheimo himself in September 1979, but had been sworn to secrecy about it; and (3) not only read parts of this text on a Swedish Radio broadcast of 14 October 1979 (before the official release of the book),²⁵⁴ but also had a complete copy made for the Swedish Radio Library (Sveriges Radio Musikbiblioteket). Skans, like Sirén, believed that the Moscow typescript is another copy of the Heikinheimo typescript or some derivative of it. Both have all the editorial emendations mentioned by Fay and even duplicate non-textual markings such as random specks on the page and borders resulting from photocopying.

If the Moscow typescript is, in fact, a copy of the Heikinheimo typescript, several of Fay's conclusions must be called into question. Here is her description of the Moscow typescript:

The document in Moscow is an unbound, single-sided photocopy made on 8 1/2 x 11 inch white stock (the U. S. standard). It would appear to have been made in the United States at the time Volkov was seeking a publisher for his work. He is reported to have shared copies of the typescript with prominent émigré cultural figures who might assist him in making contact with publishers. Although it is entirely possible that the Moscow typescript is not a first-generation copy of the original, the text is entirely legible throughout, as are Shostakovich's inscriptions.²⁵⁵

Drawing any conclusion from the paper size of a photocopy is risky at best. To conclude that this paper size indicates that the Moscow typescript is what Volkov showed while trying to secure a publisher in the USA is downright reckless. What Fay does not mention is that the copy Per Skans received from Heikinheimo was not on 8 1/2 x 11 inch paper, but on A4.²⁵⁶ This also is the paper size of the copy deposited in the Swedish

We contemplated writing about this altered text immediately, and informed Alan Mercer of *DSCJ Journal* about it by 1 June 1999. By November, however, it was clear that further research was necessary so as to avoid a rush to judgment.

²⁵⁴ Sveriges Riksradio P 2, Sunday, 14 October, 1979, 09.00 CET: 'Runt musikens Sovjet' med Per Skans och Björn W. Stålné. I dag: Ett musikens flagskepp. Dmitrij Sjostakovitj snabbporträtteras (Archive code: 5460-79/3203 PS). The parts concerning Shostakovich's troubles in 1936 and 1948 are heard at 14:45 in the program, the Seventh Symphony at 25:45, his film music at 28:00, and the Tenth Symphony at 35:30. Still earlier, in mid-September 1979, Skans had reviewed *Testimony* in another broadcast on Swedish Radio, stating prophetically that

One thing is for certain: these memoirs will NEVER ever be sanctioned in the USSR. It would seem, judging from reading the manuscript swiftly, that Shostakovich does not actually criticise the Soviet system as such — "his target is basically Stalin and his time" — but it contains a sufficient number of other juicy details to ensure that it will immediately be stored in the so-called special fund: the library containing banned literature, to which no ordinary Soviet citizen ever has access.

This comment is preserved in writing in Skans's archive (email to Ho, 28 January 2005).

²⁵⁵ Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 28.

²⁵⁶ Email from Skans to Ho, 19 September 2004:

The text from which we copied, i.e., the one that Seppo lent to me, clearly was a copy itself, he would not have carried around 'his original' with him when travelling: this was in Stockholm rather than Helsinki, and I suppose that the reasons why he carried it with

Radio Library in 1979, and of those examined by Mark Wigglesworth in 1997 while visiting the late Il'ya Musin²⁵⁷ and located by Vesa Sirén in Finland in 2004.²⁵⁸

Fay's statement that the Moscow typescript 'is entirely legible throughout, as are Shostakovich's inscriptions' also must be questioned. If the Moscow typescript duplicates Heikinheimo's, Fay has not told the truth. On the other hand, if Fay's statement is accurate, then several important questions remain: from where does the Moscow typescript come, how accurate is it, and who made the alterations and why? In the Heikinheimo typescript, a number of passages have been crossed out, apparently with a broad-tipped marker. These range in length from a few words to twenty-one lines of text (*cf.* Table 1).

him was to be able to check some last details in his spare hours there. I am 99% certain that it was NOT US size paper.

We have attempted to locate the original of the altered text circulated by Heikinheimo, but without success. His widow, Päivi Heikinheimo, responded on 30 September 2004, via Vesa Sirén, that 'she doesn't know where that manuscript exists, but has a vague recollection that Seppo might have given it as a memory to some Finnish friend, who is not part of music life'. Sirén goes on to mention that 'I haven't been able to locate that friend or her identity. I asked Helsinki University Library if the manuscript is within the small archive that Mr. Heikinheimo left there. It is not'.

²⁵⁷ David Nice, 'The Welsh Shostakovich', *Gramophone*, 75/89, August 1997, p. 22.

²⁵⁸ Email from Sirén to Ho, 26 October 2004.

Table 1: *Blacked-Out Passages in the Heikinheimo Typescript*²⁵⁹

<u>Heikinheimo</u>	<u># of Lines</u>	<u>Harper & Row edn.</u>	<u>Surrounding Text</u>
pp. 122–23	21	Chap. 3, p. 90	Or rather, as the first professional actor upon whom such a historic mission was bestowed. // Shchukin, like Akimov, was a very nasty man.
p. 220	8+	Chap. 5, p. 160	How dreary to picture generation after generation living to the same music! // What I want to say is that what may remain ‘fresh and strong’ may not be music at all, and not even creativity, but some other, more prosaic thing, such as attentiveness toward people, toward their humdrum lives, filled with unpleasant and unexpected events, toward their petty affairs and cares, and toward their general lack of security.
p. 223	12	Chap. 5, p. 161	It was impossible to find him at home or at his laboratory. Borodin was always out at some meeting on women’s rights. // He dragged himself from one meeting to another, discussing women’s problems which could probably have been taken care of by a lesser composer than Borodin.
p. 236	1+	Chap. 5, p. 169	That was his tragedy. // All values were confused, criteria obliterated.

²⁵⁹ A ‘+’ in Column 2 indicates that the beginning of the next readable line of text is also blacked out. In addition, one or two isolated words are blacked out on typescript pages 063, 326, 350, 351 (changed by hand to 352), and 352 (changed by hand to 353). A ‘//’ in Column 4 indicates the exact location of blacked-out text.

p. 293	6	Chap. 6, p. 205	A trifle. // Nothing but nonsense in the world, Nikolai Vasilyevich Gogol once said.
p. 298	1+	Chap. 6, p. 208	But together they're a mob that wants blood. // And there's nothing funny in the image of <i>The Nose</i> .
p. 336 (changed by hand to 335)	3	Chap. 7, p. 231	But the public isn't very concerned about that and therefore <i>Boris Godunov</i> is usually performed in either the Rimsky-Korsakov version or mine. // I kept thinking, Well, maybe I'll be able to do Mussorgsky a service, bringing his opera to the listener.
p. 390	3+	Chap. 8, p. 267	Zoshchenko treats women with detachment. // Zoshchenko published <i>Before Sunrise</i> during the war and his self-analysis drove Stalin mad.

The material beneath all but one of these blackouts is totally unreadable, contradicting Fay's claim that 'the text is entirely legible'.²⁶⁰ The exception, a humorous, but lengthy digression about actor Vasily Nikandrov's stunning resemblance to Lenin, is

²⁶⁰ We do not know what is hidden beneath the thick black strokes that obliterate the other seven passages. These may contain material not published in any edition, like the one about Nikandrov, or information duplicated, in whole or part, on other pages, and thus considered dispensable by Harper and Row's editors. It is even possible that some of the blackouts and paste-ins resulted in tandem from selective editing and rearranging of the text by the publisher, as happens with almost every book, to tighten the text and improve its readability.

Volkov's professed lack of knowledge of these changes (conversation with the authors, May 1999) may surprise some readers, who would have expected him to be personally involved in all aspects of the publication process. However, he was at that time unfamiliar with the American publishing business and hampered by the language barrier, and thus accepted the recommendations of Harper and Row's in-house editors, such as Ann Harris, who, even before publication, was referred to as 'the book's editor' (Mitgang, p. C14). Volkov also was accustomed to having his writings 'edited' while in the USSR, so changes suggested by Harper and Row would not have struck him as unusual. Even Volkov admits that the text has its flaws: it was prepared very rapidly for Shostakovich's approval (*cf. Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 320); moreover, this was his first big book in this genre (memoirs), while he was still a young, relatively inexperienced journalist. At the same time, he reaffirms that *Testimony* is a 'completely honest book', documenting what Shostakovich told him in their conversations (Shostakovich session, Mannes College of Music).

absent in all translations of *Testimony* and appears for the first time in the ‘Collation of Texts’ section below (cf. pp. 234–35 and the facsimile on pp. 236–37).²⁶¹

Fay’s statement is further called into question by the fact that text is obviously missing between typescript pages 351 and 352 (cf. the facsimile on pp. 247–49 below). Page 351 ends in the middle of a hyphenated word: ‘Naturally, in this situation I and Musorgsky ended up in one camp, and Asafiev — in another one. He — with tormentors and oppressors. Even in ‘Prince Igor’ he began to find separ- ; page 352 then begins ‘difficult. So I made life easier for the singers. Galina Vishnevskaya, the first performer, approved the correction. So I do not quarrel with singers’. The first part (end of page 351) is included in the English translation on page 241, but not the material at the beginning of page 352. This gap of about half a page not only refutes Fay’s claim that the Moscow typescript (if it duplicates the Heikinheimo) is ‘entirely legible’, but undermines her assertion that this is what was used in preparing the English translation. The entire passage (with gap filled; cf. pp. 242–45 below) is found in both the German and Finnish translations, demonstrating that Pross-Weerth and Heikinheimo had access to a different and more complete text than what the latter circulated.

Finally, it is inexplicable that Fay would state that Shostakovich’s inscriptions in the Moscow typescript also are ‘entirely legible’. As she herself points out, those that should head Chapters 3 and 7 are missing completely, apparently having been covered up by paste-ins.²⁶² The same inscriptions are absent from Heikinheimo’s copy, too, further suggesting that the Moscow and Heikinheimo typescripts duplicate each other. Significantly, both Heikinheimo and Pross-Weerth had access to all eight of the inscriptions since they reproduced them at the beginning of each of the eight chapters in the Finnish and German editions. Therefore, what they received from Harper and Row must have been different from and more complete than what Heikinheimo circulated. It is also worth noting that although Heikinheimo wrote about his work on *Testimony* in

²⁶¹ In a letter of 1 November 1997, Bouis recalls that the ‘final English text was the result of much consultation among the editors, Volkov, and myself. I don’t remember any major excisions, but if any were made, they were at the suggestion/insistence of the editor(s), not independent decisions of mine’. It is also worth noting that the British Hamish Hamilton edition (abbreviated HH below) includes various changes unauthorized by Bouis, as well as careless errors. For example, the notion that Stalin considered everyone ‘cogs’ is changed to ‘screws’, and American slang is replaced by more idiomatic British phrases. The British edition even manages to call Solomon Volkov ‘Simon Volkov’ (!) at the end of his Preface and to mix up note references: for example, one that should refer to Oleg Karavaichuk is shifted to Prokofiev. Other variants include the following:

- (1) about the Eleventh Symphony, p. 8: When I was older, I read much about how it all had happened (HH, p. 4: how it had all happened) [. . .] they believe and they believe and then suddenly it comes to an end [HH: they believe and they believe, and suddenly they stop];
- (2) about the Fifth Symphony, p. 183: The rejoicing is forced, created under threat (HH, p. 140: created under a threat) [. . .] and you rise, shaky (HH: shakily);
- (3) about the Fourth Symphony, p. 212: After all, for twenty-five years (HH, p. 163: twenty-four years,) no one heard it [. . .]. I even know who that person would have been (HH: would be.);
- (4) about the bell in *Boris Godunov*, p. 227: It’s just a pathetic parody (HH, p. 176: poor parody).

²⁶² Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 30.

both the second Finnish edition and his own memoirs, he never mentioned any missing signatures or alterations in the text provided to him by Harper and Row.

Next, let us consider Fay's claim that the Moscow typescript appears to be a copy of what Volkov showed while 'seeking a publisher for his work'. If true, this altered text must have been prepared very early and presumably would have been what was given to Harper and Row, Henry Orlov, and all three translators who worked from the Russian text: Bouis, Pross-Weerth, and Heikinheimo. To date we have been unable to trace these alterations, missing inscriptions, and the like to anyone before Heikinheimo. Volkov maintains that the original typescript only has Shostakovich's inscriptions: no blackouts, no incomplete pages, no hand-changed pagination, no handwritten text, no photographically reduced type font, and no cut-and-paste, all of which are abundantly evident in the Heikinheimo typescript (*cf.* the facsimiles on pp. 88, 94, 236–37, and 247–49 below) and, apparently, though Fay does not mention all of these, in the one in Moscow. Consider what Orlov wrote on 28 August 1979, immediately after examining the Russian text:

Significantly enough that, except for the inscription by his hand at the head of each of the eight chapters, the manuscript bears no traces of his handwriting, *no alterations or even slight corrections*.²⁶³

We know that Orlov spent four hours examining the Russian text and that he read it carefully and gave it serious consideration.²⁶⁴ Would Orlov have made such an unequivocal statement (there are 'no alterations or even slight corrections') if changes such as those enumerated above were in the Russian text he examined? Could Orlov have missed alterations such as crossed-out passages that span up to twenty-one lines of text (*cf.* the facsimile on pp. 236–37 below)? We think not, and we wonder why Fay did not ask Orlov about his 1979 statement vis-à-vis the alterations in the Moscow typescript that she herself acknowledges. For example, how could Orlov not notice that Chapter 3 alone (1) is lacking an inscription; (2) has signs, such as misaligned margins, that the first paragraph has been pasted in; (3) has a line of text that has been written-in by hand (*cf.* the facsimile on p. 88 below); and (4) has an 'orphan' line of text where the paragraph in (2) originally stood? All of these directly contradict Orlov's own statement.

Seppo Heikinheimo died in 1997 and, thus, is unable to shed light on the typescript he circulated. Fortunately, however, Allan Ho was able to contact both Bouis and Pross-Weerth to document what they remember about their work with the Russian typescript. As reported in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, Bouis does not recall any changes in type face or font or other 'monkey business' in the Russian text;²⁶⁵ when sent copies of alterations in the Heikinheimo typescript, she did not recognize them, but also

²⁶³ Kovnatskaya, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 113; emphasis added.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

²⁶⁵ Letter from Bouis, 11 June 1997. Page '350' of the Heikinheimo typescript is photographically reduced to allow more text to fit than usual (34 lines instead of 28–29). Such reduction was rare in the USSR in the mid-1970s, so it is unlikely that this page duplicates that in the original typescript.

acknowledged that it was not her role to remember the details of the Russian text.²⁶⁶ Pross-Weerth was more certain. She examined samples of the blackouts, cut-and-paste, handwritten changes, and the like in the Heikinheimo typescript, including the pages discussed in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, and stated, unequivocally, that these were not in the Russian text from which she worked (*cf.* the facsimiles of her complete letters on pp. 69–71 below):

Question: In Heikinheimo’s copy, there are a number of passages that have been blacked out or crossed out as well as others that seem to have been pasted in. Were these markings apparent on your copy as well?

Answer: In my Russian text nothing was blacked out or excised.²⁶⁷

She also believed that Heikinheimo’s altered text was a later copy and could not understand the changes that appear in it:

I have precisely compared the pages that you sent me with the German translation. It seems to me that the makers of the ‘Moscow [i.e., Heikinheimo] manuscript’ must have worked with at least two different texts, and that they must have come to the conclusion that the version published in America, Finland and Germany is the authentic original text. That’s why they have deleted and — unfortunately — made illegible additional passages (except for one) out of a later version. Due to these deletions, the logical continuity of the text has been recovered. Only the beginning of Chapter 3 was changed. Therefore, it seems to me that the deletions that were made in the Moscow manuscript are related to insertions from a later version that were undone. The contents of each paragraph following a deletion is followed by a paragraph that, in its contents, continues the last one perfectly.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁶ Letter from Bouis, 25 May 1999: ‘I had no idea that anyone would care twenty years later, and [thus . . .] didn’t take notes or make an effort to remember every moment of my work on the manuscript’.

²⁶⁷ Letter from Pross-Weerth, 22 March 2000: ‘In meinem russischen Text war nichts geschwärzt oder gestrichen’.

²⁶⁸ Letter from Pross-Weerth, 16 June 2004:

die Seiten, die Sie mir schickten, habe ich genau mit der deutschen Übersetzung verglichen und den Eindruck gewonnen, daß die Hersteller des ‘Moskauer’ Manuskripts mit mindestens zwei Textvorlagen gearbeitet haben und zu dem Ergebnis gekommen sind, daß die in Amerika, Finnland und Deutschland veröffentlichte Fassung der authentische Urtext ist. Dementsprechend haben sie zusätzliche Passagen aus einer späteren Fassung gestrichen und — leider — bis auf eine diese Stellen unleserlich gemacht. Durch die Streichungen ist der logische Textzusammenhang wieder hergestellt. Geändert wurde nur der Anfang von Kapitel 3. Mir scheint also, daß die Streichungen im Moskauer Manuskript Einfügungen aus einer späteren Fassung betreffen, die rückgängig gemacht wurden. Der Absatz nach jeder Streichung schließt inhaltlich bruchlos an den Absatz vor der Streichung an.

*Facsimiles of Two Letters from Dr. Heddy Pross-Weerth,
the German translator of Testimony.*

Dr. Heddy Pross-Weerth
Sandrain 21
D 68219 Mannheim
Tel. 0621 / 87 46 20

Mannheim, 22.3. 2000

Sehr geehrter Dr. Ho,

besten Dank für Ihren Brief. Zu Frage 1: In meiner russischen Vorlage stand "Читал.Д.Шостакoviч" am Beginn des ersten Kapitels, quasi als Überschrift.

Frage 2: In meinem russischen Text war nichts geschwärzt oder ausgestrichen.

Ich schicke Ihnen mit Normalpost mein vorletztes Exemplar der deutschen Šostakovič-Ausgabe. Email habe ich leider nicht.

Mit den besten Grüßen

Ihre
Heddy Pross

She had never seen the English translation before Allan Ho sent her a copy in May 2000. She compared it with her own German translation, completed in the spring and summer of 1979, and then with the alterations in the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript.

Mannheim, 16. 6.04

Dear Allan,

die Seiten, die Sie mir schickten, habe ich genau mit der deutschen Übersetzung verglichen und den Eindruck gewonnen, daß die Hersteller des "Moskauer" Manuskripts mit mindestens zwei Textvorlagen gearbeitet haben und zu dem Ergebnis gekommen sind, daß die ~~der~~ in Amerika, Finnland und Deutschland veröffentlichte Fassung der autenthische Urtext ist. Dementsprechend haben sie zusätzliche Passagen aus einer späteren Fassung gestrichen und - leider - bis auf eine diese Stellen unleserlich gemacht. Durch die Streichungen ist der logische Textzusammenhang wieder hergestellt. Geändert wurde nur der Anfang von Kapitel 3. Mir scheint also, daß die Streichungen im Moskauer Manuskript Einfügungen aus einer späteren Fassung betreffen, die rückgängig gemacht wurden. Der Absatz nach jeder Streichung schließt inhaltlich bruchlos an den Absatz vor der Streichung an.

Der Anfang von Kapitel 5 ist nicht geändert. Auch der Text von Kapitel 7 entspricht der deutschen Fassung, obwohl der Zustand des Manuskripts die Vermutung nahelegt. Lediglich auf S. 339 ist eingefügt *"так dance"*

Befremdlich ist im Moskauer Manuskript die Unterteilung in viele, kleine Absätze. Oft ist in der deutschen Übersetzung ein einziger Absatz drei bis vier Mal unterteilt. Ob das in meiner Textvorlage auch der Fall ist, bezweifle ich sehr, kann es ja aber leider nicht nachprüfen. Warum die Unterschrift von Schostakowitsch erst auf Seite 003 erscheint, ist mir unverständlich und ergibt keinen rechten Sinn. Ich verstehe auch nicht, warum die Unterschrift nicht allen Kapiteln vorangestellt ist.

Im übrigen gibt es nur geringfügige Kleinigkeiten, in denen die deutsche Übersetzung vom Moskauer Manuskript abweicht. Z.B. Seite 223, Zeile 4 von oben habe ich προκοδό του κομηδορ mit Bahnstation wieder gegeben, ob das ein Fehler von mir ist, weiß ich nicht.

Leider kenne ich niemanden, der den russischen Text der deutschen Ausgabe gesehen hat. Der deutsche Verleger hat ihn natürlich gesehen, ist aber ein Herr von 91 Jahren und wird sich kaum erinnern, falls er überhaupt noch lebt.

Mit besten Grüßen

Ihre
Nicolaj Pross

Significantly, the beginning of Chapter 3 in the German translation does *not* begin with 'I think of Meyerhold too frequently, more frequently than I should', as do the English and Finnish editions as well as the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript. Instead, the German begins with 'I met Meyerhold in Leningrad in 1928' and the previously quoted passage appears only on the second page of the chapter (p. 105), corresponding to page 108 of the typescript. Clearly, Pross-Weerth received from Harper and Row a version of the Russian text that was different from the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript and that had not yet been altered. If Heikinheimo, too, received from Harper and Row an unaltered text, he may himself have changed, in the typescript he circulated, the opening of Chapter 3 so that it would conform to the English edition. In fact, Heikinheimo, in his memoirs, acknowledges consulting both the English and German translations while preparing his own.²⁶⁹ The latter was published only after the other two, in late March 1980, because of a delay in obtaining rights to the book and difficulties he encountered translating the Russian into Finnish.²⁷⁰

Finally, Fay's conclusion that what she examined is 'an exact copy of the *Testimony* typescript used in making the published English translation, rather than an interim version or a retyped copy'²⁷¹ must also be questioned. She provides four reasons:

²⁶⁹ Heikinheimo, p. 392.

²⁷⁰ By September 1979, Heikinheimo, like Rozhdestvensky (cf. note 775 below), may have had an advance copy of the English edition, which was officially issued only on 31 October 1979. The Finnish edition was first reviewed by Einar Englund in 'Kuolleet säveltäjät eivät sävellä' ('Dead Composers Don't Compose'), *Helsingin Sanomat*, 4 April 1980, p. 33, but three large excerpts from it were printed in *Helsingin Sanomat* on 30 December 1979, and 6 and 12 January 1980 to generate interest in the new book.

²⁷¹ Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 29.

(1) The facsimile of page 040 of the ‘authorized text of *Testimony*’ published in 1979 [. . .] is an exact duplicate of the same page 040 of the Moscow typescript, identical in every respect down to the redundant punctuation mark.

(2) All Shostakovich’s signatures visible on the Moscow typescript conform exactly to those reproduced from the authorized text and placed above typeset pages in the German and Finnish editions of *Testimony* and are associated with the same chapters.

(3) In his outside reader’s report, commissioned by Harper & Row for the stated purpose of establishing the authenticity of Volkov’s text before publication, Henry Orlov cites material that appears on more than a dozen pages of the original Russian typescript of *Testimony*, all of which coincides precisely with what appears on the same pages of the Moscow typescript.

(4) A word-for-word comparison of the complete text of the Moscow typescript with the published English translation of *Testimony* corroborates the latter as a faithful, competent translation of this more than four-hundred-page text. Handwritten insertions and deletions in the Moscow typescript correspond exactly to the English text.²⁷²

Fay does not consider that the Moscow typescript may be derived from, but not be an exact copy of, the original typescript. As noted previously, the Moscow typescript is most likely a copy of the altered text Heikinheimo began circulating by September 1979. Let us consider Fay’s reasons one at a time:

(1) It is not surprising that the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript duplicates the facsimile printed by Elmer Schönberger in ‘Dmitri Shostakovich’s Memoirs: *Testimony*’, *Key Notes*, 10/2, p. 57.²⁷³ In a fax to Allan Ho on 4 May 1995, Schönberger stated that this material did *not* come from Volkov or Harper and Row, but from Mark Lubotsky. In another fax, he added:

At the time of the interview Lubotski was not willing to reveal from whom he had received his photocopy of the (complete!) book. His was said to be one of several copies which circulated. L. also contended that, although not being acquainted with Volkov, he ‘knew about the existence of such a document already in 1976, when he was still living in the Soviet Union. In musicians’ circles it was generally known that Volkov had had

²⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 29.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 59, note 6. It is worth noting that while the text of the *Key Notes* article was reprinted from *Vrij Nederland*, 10 November 1979, the facsimile actually stems from another piece entirely: Schönberger’s interview with Lubotsky published in *Vrij Nederland*, 40/50, 15 December 1979, p. 21.

conversations with S. and that on their basis he was composing a book. [. . .] There is nothing which makes me doubt at all about the authenticity of the book'.²⁷⁴

As an acquaintance of Heikinheimo, Lubotsky, like many other Russian musicians, would lodge at the former's apartment while in Helsinki.²⁷⁵ He is mentioned three times in Heikinheimo's memoirs and likely was one of the fifty or so émigrés loaned the altered typescript. The fact that the facsimile of page 040 in Schönberger's article duplicates that in the Moscow typescript, therefore, merely shows that a page in one copy of the Heikinheimo typescript duplicates the same page in another copy of it.

(2) What is striking about Fay's statement is the reference to 'All Shostakovich's signatures *visible* on the Moscow typescript'. Everyone who worked with the Russian typescript in 1979 mentioned that the inscriptions are at the beginning of each chapter. If signatures are missing from Chapters 3 and 7 of the Moscow typescript, the latter clearly is not an accurate reproduction of what was submitted by Volkov to Harper and Row nor of what Orlov examined and the translators worked from in preparing the English, German, and Finnish editions. Indeed, one wonders why Fay did not ask Orlov about *all* of the alterations in the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript (misaligned margins, incomplete pages, heavily crossed-out passages, hand-changed pagination, a photographically reduced page, and the like) since these directly contradict his statement to Harper and Row that there are 'no alterations or even slight corrections'.

(3) If this altered text is derived from the original typescript, it is entirely possible that Orlov's page references might also coincide.

(4) If Fay has done a 'word-for-word comparison of the complete text of the Moscow typescript with the published English translation of *Testimony*', she knows that they do not correspond exactly, further undermining her conclusion that this altered text was used in preparing the English edition. As noted above, the English text does *not* include, anywhere, the passage beginning on page 352 of the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript; moreover, on pages 36–37 in the English, the order of paragraphs has been shuffled. The original order is found in the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript and in the Finnish and German translations. In the English, however, the order is as follows: 1–2a, 6–9, 2b, and 3–5 (*cf.* p. 232 below).²⁷⁶ Details of these and many other deviations between the

²⁷⁴ Fax from Schönberger to Ho, 28 May 1995. Like Per Skans, Lubotsky appears to have been sworn to secrecy by Heikinheimo about the source of this text.

²⁷⁵ *Mätämunan muistelmat*, p. 287. Heikinheimo recalls how Olli Mustonen used to play in quite a personal way already as a young person (c. 12–15 years old). 'I always remember how he visited us at Luotikatu Street No. 5 and played Prokofiev's Violin Sonata in D with Mark Lubotsky *prima vista* as far as I could see'.

²⁷⁶ For another example of shuffled paragraphs, *cf.* p. 10 in the English. This, too, was not followed in the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript, pp. 010–011, or the Finnish edition, p. 42. In at least one instance, Heikinheimo included text in the Finnish edition, p. 269, that appears in the English edition, p. 231, but not in the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript, p. 334, or the German translation, p. 249: 'I had known *Boris* almost by heart since my Conservatory days, but it was only when I orchestrated it that I sensed and

Heikinheimo/Moscow typescripts and the English, Finnish, and German editions are given on pp. 230–50. Apparently, Heikinheimo noticed some of the editorial changes in the English text, such as the obvious one at the beginning of Chapter 3, and cut-and-paste his Russian text to conform; on the other hand, others went completely unnoticed and there his typescript continues to follow the original.

In summary, the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript most closely duplicates not the English edition, but the Finnish. It appears to be some sort of ‘working copy’, made in haste and rather carelessly, instead of one intended to accurately duplicate the original typescript. It may even reflect Heikinheimo’s struggles in translating the text.

2. The First Inscription

Until the original typescript becomes available for study, questions will remain about the completeness and accuracy of the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript. Fay is correct in reporting that the first inscription in the latter appears on page 003 rather than 001. What she does not mention, however, is that four independent witnesses who examined or worked with the original typescript in 1979 described the inscriptions as appearing at the beginning of each chapter. In his reader’s report for Harper and Row, Orlov wrote that Shostakovich’s inscriptions appear ‘at the head of each of the eight chapters’.²⁷⁷ Fay notes that ‘when shown photocopies of the signed typescript pages [from the Moscow typescript] in March 2001, Orlov admitted that he had not paid any attention to the actual number or location of the signatures during the limited time made available to him to consider the manuscript back in 1979; both letters to him from Ann Harris had located the composer’s inscriptions “at the head of each chapter”’.²⁷⁸ Let us consider this statement. Orlov was paid \$500, in Fay’s words to establish ‘the authenticity of Volkov’s text’. He was told in two letters from Ann Harris, Harper and Row’s senior editor for *Testimony*, that Shostakovich’s inscriptions are ‘at the head of each chapter’,²⁷⁹ then spent four hours examining the typescript, and he did not pay any attention to the number of inscriptions nor verify the location of even the very first one? This seems difficult to believe, especially since Malcolm Brown remembers Orlov saying to him ‘that the handwriting and the signature “Looked like Shostakovich’s, but who can be sure!?”’²⁸⁰ Clearly, Orlov looked at the inscriptions. If Orlov had seen the first inscription somewhere other than at the head of a chapter, wouldn’t he remember this and have mentioned it sometime during the past thirty years? Could Orlov have seen a different text, beginning with a ‘Chapter 1’ on page 003 rather than on 001? That appears unlikely since he describes the text as a ‘406-page monologue’²⁸¹ (i.e., with two

experienced it as if it were my own work. / I suppose I can spend some time talking about the “Mussorgsky orchestra”’.

²⁷⁷ Kovnatskaya, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 113.

²⁷⁸ Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 60, note 2.

²⁷⁹ Kovnatskaya, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 102 and 105.

²⁸⁰ Brown, ‘Arena’, *DSCJ Journal*, 9, Summer 1998, p. 38.

²⁸¹ Kovnatskaya, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 114. Should the original typescript have the beginning of Chapter 1 on page 003 and have the first inscription there rather than on page 001, this still would not prove the inauthenticity of the first two pages of *Testimony* nor of the memoirs as a whole. Such an editorial change, perhaps involving moving text from elsewhere in the typescript to create a better beginning, is

pages *more*, not less, than the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript²⁸²). The opening of *Testimony* ('These are not memoirs about myself. These are memoirs about other people') is also so well known that surely Orlov would have spoken up earlier if it were not part of what he examined in 1979.

Besides Orlov, Ann Harris in two letters to Orlov (9 April and 26 August 1979) and another one to Fay (9 July 1980) mentioned the inscriptions being at the head of each chapter.²⁸³ Heikinheimo also said the same thing, even though the typescript he himself circulated has the first inscription on page 003. Finally, both Heikinheimo and Pross-Weerth, in their editions, reproduced the first inscription directly above 'These are not memoirs about myself. These are memoirs about other people'. It is worth noting that Heikinheimo was highly critical of the translations of both Bouis and Pross-Weerth:

When translating, I was forced to make comparisons. The American translator had cheated a lot because of the hurry, forgetting sentences and sometimes paragraphs. Both she, the German, and later the French translator had altered Shostakovich's style into a wrong one: when Shostakovich talks in short staccato sentences, they had created long sentences in normal rhythm. That was, of course, wrong.²⁸⁴

It would have been most hypocritical for Heikinheimo to object to falsifications and changes made by the other translators and then have perpetrated his own falsification by moving the location of the first inscription.

Finally, after *A Shostakovich Casebook* was published, we sent copies of pages 001–003 of the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript, along with others, to Pross-Weerth and

common in publishing and entirely understandable given the rather bland material on page 003. The font on pages 001 and 002 matches that found elsewhere in the typescript, suggesting that these were typed before Volkov emigrated from the USSR.

²⁸² In *Mätämunan muistemat*, pp. 285 and 392, Heikinheimo mentions twice that his typescript had 404 pages.

²⁸³ For facsimiles of Harris's letters, cf. *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 102 and 105. Fay also acknowledges in her 1980 article, reprinted in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 21, note 14, that 'The number and location of the inscriptions have been confirmed in a letter to the author, dated 9 July 1980, from *Testimony's* editor Ann Harris'. Why, one wonders, would Harris misrepresent the location of any of the signatures? At this time Fay's article had not yet appeared nor had any of the recyclings been identified. We, too, have attempted to contact Ann Harris via HarperCollins and by writing to persons so-named in the New York City area, but without success. On 19 November 1999, Victoria Seide, Human Resources Recruiter for the publisher, responded: 'Regretfully, I must say we do not maintain files for employees who worked for Harper and Row'.

²⁸⁴ Heikinheimo, p. 392. At the Mannes College of Music, 15 February 1999, Bouis responded:

I did it the way one translates any manuscript: as carefully and as scrupulously as one could, in consultation with the author — I was very fortunate that the author [Volkov] was available — and with the editor [Ann Harris of Harper and Row], who worked very closely and used a very strong editorial hand, I would say. There were discussions often and there was a question of the more felicitous phrase in English sometimes rather than a very accurate translation. — No, a *literal* translation, not 'accurate', that's not the issue. — Of course, editorial changes were made, but none that detracted, in any way, from the accuracy and the truth of the manuscript. This is twenty years ago. Editors made more changes in translations than they dare do now.

asked specifically about her reproduction of the first inscription at the beginning of Chapter 1 in the German edition.

Question: In Heikinheimo's copy, the 'Chital' for Chapter 1 appears not on the first page of the typed Russian text, but on page 3. Was this true of your copy as well?

Answer: In my Russian copy, 'Chital. D. Shostakovich' stood at the beginning of the first Chapter, as a heading.²⁸⁵

She also remarked:

I don't understand why Shostakovich's signature appears only on Page 003, it just doesn't make any sense to me. Also, I don't understand why the signature has not been placed in front of the beginning of each chapter [a reference to those missing entirely from Chapters 3 and 7 — Eds.].²⁸⁶

Had Pross-Weerth moved the first inscription from page 003 to page 001 of her Russian text, she would surely remember this even twenty-five years later. Moreover, it is highly unlikely that Pross-Weerth, Heikinheimo, Harris, and Orlov are all suffering from collective amnesia or that an international conspiracy is at work, involving Orlov²⁸⁷ and agents for three independent publishers in three different countries. Clearly a different Russian text existed besides the one mentioned by Fay.

²⁸⁵ Letter from Pross-Weerth, 22 March 2000 (facsimile on p. 69 above): 'In meiner russischen Vorlage stand "čital. D. Šostakovič" am Beginn des ersten Kapitels, quasi als Überschrift'.

²⁸⁶ Letter from Pross-Weerth, 16 June 2004 (facsimile on pp. 70–71 above): 'Warum die Unterschrift von Schostakowitsch erst auf Seite 003 erscheint, ist mir unverständlich und ergibt keinen rechten Sinn. Ich verstehe auch nicht, warum die Unterschrift nicht allen Kapiteln vorangestellt ist'.

²⁸⁷ In the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript, no heading for Chapter 1 appears on page 003, and the one on page 001 ('Glava Pervaja') is not only written in a different hand from all of the others, but appears to have been pasted in and then crossed out (*cf.* the facsimiles in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 37 and 35, respectively). Did Orlov miss all of these alterations, too?

3. The Recyclings

We have acknowledged previously in *Shostakovich Reconsidered* that eight passages in *Testimony* are recyclings of earlier material by Shostakovich and that these usually coincide with Shostakovich's signatures. The question is, why do these passages appear in the memoirs? Were they recycled by Volkov with or without Shostakovich's knowledge or by Shostakovich with or without Volkov's knowledge? Perhaps Shostakovich even recycled some of his earlier words to give the text credibility (a recognizable voice) while at the same time providing plausible deniability should the manuscript fall into the wrong hands. Volkov maintains that he was unaware of these recyclings until Fay's article appeared in 1980 and that he would not have included them had he known they had already been published.²⁸⁸ He does, however, acknowledge in his Preface to *Testimony*, p. xvii, that sometimes 'Shostakovich's manner of responding to questions was highly stylized. Some phrases had apparently been polished over many years'. These may well have included the recycled material.

Fay suggests that Volkov not only knew about these previously published texts but may have used them to dupe Shostakovich into approving what appeared to be a collection of his earlier writings. *But no evidence has been found that Volkov was ever working on such a collection.* Yury Korev, Galina Drubachevskaya, Rostislav Dubinsky, and others have reported being aware of the Volkov/Shostakovich meetings while they were taking place, and that Volkov always mentioned working on the composer's memoirs. This is corroborated by Shostakovich's statement to Litvinova about meeting constantly with a young Leningrad musicologist to tell him everything he remembers about his works and himself. Significantly, Irina Shostakovich, in 1978, also did not claim that Volkov was working on a collection of previously published material; she said that everybody knew about the Volkov/Shostakovich conversations and that the book may contain nothing more than the composer's autobiographical reminiscences. Finally, the inscription on the frontispiece photo clearly acknowledges Shostakovich's *conversations* with Volkov rather than some sort of joint project to recycle earlier articles.

Fay's assumption that Volkov was aware of the earlier published articles is undermined, first, by her admission that none of the other Russians who had seen the Russian text recognized the recycled passages:

²⁸⁸ Mitchinson, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 308: "No, no", he insists over the phone, "if I did I wouldn't have included it of course". At the Shostakovich session at the Mannes College of Music, 15 February 1999 (on the Internet at <<http://www.siue.edu/~aho/musov/man/mannes1.html>>, the following exchange also took place between Volkov and Louis Blois:

Volkov: [. . .] about these interpolations. I was not aware of them before Fay's article.

Blois: Did Shostakovich, in the course of your interviews with him, did he hold a paper in front of him and read certain articles? Perhaps he read his articles to you in the process?

Volkov: No, no, no, no. That would have alerted me immediately to the fact that he's giving a prepared [text]. Absolutely not.

Neither has anyone among them [individuals privileged to read the Russian text] acknowledged recognition that some passages in *Testimony* duplicated material already published in the Soviet Union during Shostakovich's lifetime nor an awareness that this duplicated material was located on the very pages of the *Testimony* typescript 'authenticated' by the composer's signatures.²⁸⁹

Second, Brown notes that Volkov was not known as a Shostakovich scholar while in the USSR. Instead, he was a journalist at various periodicals who, again according to Brown, had no significant articles on Shostakovich other than a brief introduction to the composer's reminiscences of Meyerhold and an early review of the Eighth Quartet.²⁹⁰ Clearly, Shostakovich was not the focus of his research or writing. Third, even Henry Orlov, a bonafide Shostakovich scholar who is hailed multiple times in *A Shostakovich Casebook*,²⁹¹ did not recognize a single one of the eight recycled passages when he examined the Russian text in 1979. Although he does note that portions of *Testimony* are 'rephrase[d] in the vernacular' from 'some of the published autobiographical material',²⁹² the specific passage (typescript pages 6–7) to which he refers in his reader's report to Harper and Row is, in fact, only loosely related to the earlier article ('Dumy o proydennom puti', *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, 1956) and is not one of the eight verbatim or near-verbatim recyclings.

Finally, even though Fay herself had actively searched for recycled passages, she had found only five and Simon Karlinsky two more at the time her article first appeared in October 1980.²⁹³ Indeed, one has to wonder why Fay, the leading Shostakovich scholar in the West, never mentioned the recycling on page 003 from Shostakovich's 'Autobiography' of 1927, printed in the September 1966 issue of *Sovetskaya Muzyka*,²⁹⁴

²⁸⁹ Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 28.

²⁹⁰ Brown, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 343: 'I have looked through every issue of the journal [*Sovetskaya Muzyka*] starting in 1965 and continuing through 1976, the year of Volkov's emigration, and found his name only as a byline to nine items. The first appeared in 1970, the remaining eight in 1973 and 1974'. Volkov, however, estimates that from 1959–75 he wrote some 300 articles for various publications, though, again, not focusing on Shostakovich. The only piece on the composer he deemed worthy of mention in his entry in *The New Grove* is his review of the Eighth Quartet, 'Novy kvartet D. Shostakovicha' ('New Quartet of D. Shostakovich'), *Smena*, 7 October 1960, p. 4 (cf. Allan B. Ho, 'Volkov, Solomon [Moiseyevich]', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Macmillan Ltd., London, 2001, Vol. 26, p. 885).

²⁹¹ From *A Shostakovich Casebook*: 'Orlov had worked closely with Shostakovich, knew his idiosyncrasies well, and was widely recognized as an authority on the composer's music' (p. 3); 'Orlov, someone who himself had collected memoirs of Shostakovich, [. . .] is an outstanding figure among Russian scholars, musicologists, and historians of culture. His monograph, *Simfonii Shostakovicha* [The symphonies of Shostakovich] (Leningrad: Muzgiz, 1961), remains, to the present day, more than three decades after its publication, one of the best books in any language about Shostakovich's symphonies' (p. 99); and 'Orlov is well known to have been personally and closely associated with Shostakovich for many years, in contrast to Solomon Volkov [. . .]' (p. 178).

²⁹² Kovnatskaya, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 115.

²⁹³ Fay, 'Shostakovich versus Volkov: Whose Testimony?', *Russian Review*, 30/4, October 1980, 484–93; reprinted in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 11–21.

²⁹⁴ Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 39.

until an altered copy of the typescript emerged that included Shostakovich's signature on this page. Are we to believe that Fay worked on a biography of the composer for fifteen years, but did not notice for twenty-plus years this obvious recycling in *Testimony's* first chapter? An excerpt of this material is quoted on page 10 of Wilson's *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered* (1994; as mentioned in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*; p. 190) as well as on page 16 of Natal'ya Lukyanova's easily obtained *Shostakovich: His Life and Times* (1982; English translation, 1984), both of which are cited in the bibliography of Fay's *Shostakovich: A Life*.

Did Fay remain quiet about this recycling earlier because it did not fit her theory that recycled passages appear only on signed pages? What else has Fay not reported?

a. Shostakovich's Memory

In *Shostakovich Reconsidered* we provided numerous examples of Shostakovich's feats of memory as well as testimony from leading psychologists specializing in this area that the composer might well have repeated his earlier words in telling his life story.²⁹⁵ Although Shostakovich's astounding memory is mentioned still more in recent publications,²⁹⁶ Fay continues to doubt that he would repeat himself verbatim on eight pages of *Testimony* since he often embellished his stories in *conversation*:

Ho and Feofanov produce no evidence that Shostakovich ever repeated such large chunks of his own statements word-for-word in conversation. [. . .] No evidence has been produced to demonstrate that Shostakovich ever repeated one of his stories exactly the same way twice.²⁹⁷

In contrast to Fay, we believe that if Shostakovich could repeat others' texts verbatim, it only stands to reason that he could have repeated his own. Remember, too, that these *were not* casual conversations or 'stories' the composer might have shared,

²⁹⁵ Cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 188–209, summarized on pp. 266–68 below. These include having all of Wagner's *Ring Cycle* in his head and being able to play, without prior preparation, just the second violin and cello parts of Beethoven's *Die grosse fuge* on two pianos with Krzysztof Meyer, something that most musicians would consider 'utterly inconceivable'. Although Shostakovich's repetition of eight pages of his own words (over multiple sessions) may seem difficult to believe, it is actually a modest accomplishment compared to other feats of memory that have been documented. For example, in 1917 George M. Stratton studied the Shass Pollak, students of the Talmud, who could recall the location of every word on every page of the twelve volumes of that text, and on 4 October 2006 Akira Haraguchi recited from memory the mathematical pi to 100,000 decimal places in 16 hours. Researchers such as neurobiologist James McGaugh of the University of California, Irvine, are currently studying others with a phenomenal memory, such as a woman identified as 'AJ' (later revealed to be Jill Price) and Brad Williams, both of whom can recall, instantaneously and without use of mnemonic devices, the details and events of most of the days in their lives (cf. 'Amazing Memory Man Never Forgets', 22 February 2008, <<http://www.cnn.com/2008/HEALTH/02/22/memory.man.ap/index.html>>, and Elizabeth S. Parker, Larry Cahill, and James L. McGaugh's 'A Case of Unusual Autobiographical Remembering', *Neurocase*, 12/1, February 2006, 35–49). Most people would view these accomplishments, to use Fay's words, 'utterly inconceivable' as well.

²⁹⁶ Cf. p. 127 below.

²⁹⁷ Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 40–41.

impromptu, with friends and family members. He was working on his memoirs — as he told Litvinova, fully aware that Volkov was writing everything down — and, thus, chose his words carefully to be as precise as possible; moreover, the recycled passages are the kind of factual, bland, anodyne material that one could easily imagine being repeated. (Do Fay, Taruskin, and Brown, when asked to provide their own biographical sketches, ‘reinvent the wheel’ each time or repeat stock phrases? Anyone familiar with Taruskin’s writings knows that he routinely recycles lengthy passages in his reviews, articles, and books.) Finally, as stated in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, such verbatim or near-verbatim repetition was, in fact, typical of the composer’s work habits. As with his compositions, once the material was complete and fixed in his mind, he saw no reason to alter it and usually would refuse to do so.

Fay, during a lecture at New York University on 4 April 2000, questioned Shostakovich’s memory because of the composer’s errors in a worklist. ‘This example, summarizes Fay, is not a testament to a photographic, [or] even a flawless memory. Fay reports that DS frequently forgot his own opus numbers and their dates; that he had to ask someone to remind him what his next opus number was’.²⁹⁸ None of this is news, of course. Krzysztof Meyer stated in Wilson’s book six years earlier:

[Shostakovich] was absentminded. [. . .] Often he couldn’t remember which opus he had just completed, and to find out he would have to ask his elder sister who lived in Leningrad. For that reason his works often lacked opus numbers, or had double numbers. When I look at the letters he sent me, I am amazed that not one of them has been correctly addressed, each time there is a different mistake, and he found my name so complicated that he never managed to write it down without an error.²⁹⁹

However, on the very next page, Meyer adds: ‘I also remember with what glee he would boast his knowledge of Leningrad tram numbers’.³⁰⁰

The literature on human memory reveals that it is not at all unusual for feats of memory to be focused in particular areas: some people recall numbers better, others words, visual images, music, and the like.³⁰¹ Moreover, when people with a phenomenal

²⁹⁸ Louis Blois, ‘Fay’s Lecture’, DSCH-list, 5 April 2000. Fay does not allow her lectures to be recorded; hence Blois has tried to document her points by hand as accurately as possible.

²⁹⁹ Wilson, p. 463.

³⁰⁰ In a letter to Vladislav Uspensky, Shostakovich gives directions to his dacha and writes out the schedule of every train to that stop: 0.29, 6.47, 7.53, 8.23, 8.52, 9.38, 10.46, 11.11, 12.18, 13.13, 14.25, 15.33, 16.30, 17.32, 18.35, 19.17, 20.20, 21.26, 22.26, 23.26 (Vladislav Uspensky, ‘Pis’mo Uchitelya’ (‘Teacher’s Letters’), in Kovnatskaya (ed.), *D. D. Shostakovich: Mezhdú mgnoveniem i vechnost’iu* (D. D. Shostakovich: *Between the Moment and Eternity*), Kompozitor, St. Petersburg, 2000, pp. 516–17). Since there were no brochures in the USSR with train schedules, Shostakovich likely recited these from his phenomenal memory.

³⁰¹ Iain Strachan has called to our attention another person with a phenomenal memory who could also be quite absentminded: the chess player George Koltanowski. He held the world record for blindfolded simultaneous chess play, facing some thirty-two opponents, winning the majority, and losing none. As a party trick, he would have sixty-four members of the audience call out their telephone numbers and then place each phone number on a square of the chessboard. Finally, blindfolded, he would do the ‘knight’s tour’ and recall perfectly the telephone number on each square as it was visited. Despite such feats of

memory fix something in their minds, it may actually be more difficult for them to ‘erase’ it: such was the case with Solomon Shereshevsky (1886-1958), who was studied by neuropsychologist Alexander Luria for thirty years and is the subject of the latter’s *Mind of a Mnemonist: A Little Book About a Vast Memory*. Similarly, if Shostakovich had once assigned a wrong opus number to a work, he might very well repeat that mistake time and again. Or if he or a publisher assigned a new opus number to a work, he might retain in his mind the old number, causing other errors and confusion.³⁰² This aspect of Shostakovich’s phenomenal memory may also explain why he seldom revised his works once they were complete and fixed in his mind. Finally, the actual date of composition of a work may be considerably different from that affixed to the score. As Shostakovich was wont to say, ‘I think long, I write fast’.

memory, it was also reported in his obituary that if his wife sent him to the corner shop for something, he frequently would arrive there and be unable to recall what he was supposed to buy.

³⁰² As Derek Hulme notes in his *Dmitri Shostakovich: A Catalogue, Bibliography, and Discography*, 3rd edn., Scarecrow Press, Lanham, Maryland, 2002 (hereafter Hulme), Shostakovich in 1965 undertook a reorganization of his opus numbers, resulting in String Quartet No. 2 becoming Op. 68 instead of Op. 69, and the like. In addition, publishers sometimes printed the same works under different opus numbers, compounding the confusion. The examples below demonstrate that keeping track of Shostakovich’s opus numbers was not an easy task even for someone with an outstanding memory:

- Op. 18, now *New Babylon*, has Op. 17 written on the original parts rediscovered at the Lenin Library, Moscow (Hulme, p. 51).
- Op. 38, now *Love and Hatred*, was originally assigned to *Jazz Suite No. 1* according to the autograph of the latter and the first published edition (*ibid.*, p. 138).
- Op. 53, now *The Man with a Gun*, was assigned to Symphony No. 6 on the first scores (e.g., Boosey and Hawkes, 1947) and recordings. The Symphony is now Op. 54 (*ibid.*, p. 188).
- Op. 61, now Piano Sonata No. 2, was Op. 64 until 1966. Op. 64 had previously been assigned to *Zoya* (*ibid.*, p. 219).
- Op. 63, now *Native Leningrad*, was assigned to *The Gamblers* until 1942, when the opera was abandoned. *Native Leningrad* itself was originally published as Op. 61, which later became Piano Sonata No. 2 (*ibid.*, pp. 215 and 224).
- Op. 64, now *Zoya*, was originally Op. 68, which is now Quartet No. 2 (*ibid.*, p. 228).
- Op. 68, now Quartet No. 2, was originally Op. 69, which is now *Children’s Notebook* (*ibid.*, pp. 244 and 247).
- Op. 69 is now assigned to the seven pieces in *Children’s Notebook*. Nos. 1–6 originally did not have an opus number, but No. 7, ‘Birthday’, was Op. 69 when it was added on daughter Galina’s birthday, 30 May 1945 (Hulme, letter to Iain Strachan, 20 August 1999).
- Op. 77, now Violin Concerto No. 1, was originally issued as Op. 99. Op. 77 was first assigned to the *Three Pieces for Orchestra* that he later abandoned (Hulme, pp. 267 and 562).
- Op. 81, now *Song of the Forests*, was first assigned to the *Merry March* for two pianos according to the autograph of the latter (*ibid.*, p. 283).
- Op. 84, now *Two Romances on Texts of Lermontov*, was assigned to *Ballet Suite No. 1* when it was first published (*ibid.*, pp. 287–88).
- Op. 87, now *24 Preludes and Fugues*, was Op. 89 on early publications and on some recordings. Op. 89 is now *The Unforgettable Year 1919* (*ibid.*, p. 301).
- Op. 89 was also assigned to *Ten Russian Folksongs*, now without opus, according to the autograph of the latter (*ibid.*, p. 309).
- Op. 131, now *October*, was Op. 132 on four scores published between 1967–77. Op. 132 is now *Sofya Perovskaya* (*ibid.*, pp. 437–38).

b. Punctuation

Fay also questions Volkov's ability to duplicate the punctuation in the recycled texts while writing down exactly what Shostakovich said. She mentions consulting dozens of experts who find such duplication of punctuation not even 'remotely possible'.³⁰³ In stating in *Shostakovich Reconsidered* that such duplication of words and punctuation was possible, as strange as that may seem to Western minds, we too consulted various 'experts' trained in the Soviet system of education, some of whom are now Russian-language professors at major universities in the USA. They confirmed that accurate dictation (words and punctuation) was strongly emphasized in eight or more years of Soviet schooling, unlike in the USA, and that such a skill was part of the entrance exam of Soviet universities, especially in humanities programs with a focus on language studies.

The majority of punctuation in the recycled passages consists of commas and periods, and their use is entirely conventional, even to a Westerner. Parentheses also are used in normal fashion, to enclose a person's dates or to indicate an aside, and quotation marks logically surround a statement or the title of a work, or indicate irony. In most instances, the punctuation in *Testimony* is exactly what one would expect. Where the strict Russian rules for punctuation might leave some ambiguity (e.g., in the use of dashes or semicolons instead of commas), we cannot rule out the possibility that Shostakovich, while speaking, indicated a particular punctuation, either verbally or through inflection or gesture, or that, while examining the preliminary (pre-typed) texts submitted by Volkov, he marked a few changes. Volkov, too, can only speculate as to how and why this recycled material appears at the head of chapters, verbatim or near verbatim:

'When Shostakovich started to talk to me, he would start like a locomotive slowly, to warm up'. In each session, Shostakovich 'kind of smoothed the beginnings, when he was much more nervous than I'. Such passages, Mr. Volkov guesses, might have been the excerpts, which are among the least significant portions of the book: 'I always started a chapter with the starting point of some conversation'.³⁰⁴

'The entire book was done "by dictation": He would talk, I would make notes, then he would read through the material prepared and would correct almost nothing'.³⁰⁵

The last sentence suggests that Shostakovich did make some minor corrections — including, perhaps, changes in punctuation — before the memoirs were typed in spring

³⁰³ Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 59, note 10.

³⁰⁴ Edward Rothstein, 'New Evidence on Memoirs Splits Shostakovich Scholars', *The New York Times*, 17 October 1998, p. B7.

³⁰⁵ Lili Pann, 'Muzyka prosvechivayet vsego cheloveka naskvoz' ('Music Shines Through the Man'), *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, 27/5659, 2 July 1997, p. 14.

1974. Understandably, these were of such little significance to Volkov at the time that they escaped mention in his Preface to *Testimony*.

With regard to punctuation, it is worth noting that Brown's comparison of *Testimony* texts and earlier published articles is somewhat misleading. Rather than translating the verbatim or near-verbatim texts as they appear in the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript and the earlier published articles, Brown has seen fit to quote Bouis's English translation of the memoirs, then make his own translation of the articles replicate Bouis's passages as closely as possible. In doing so, he adopts her somewhat different punctuation, layout, and words, even when the Russian texts in both sources are, in fact, verbatim or near verbatim. In Table 2 (page 84 below), compare the Heikinheimo opening of Chapter 4, translated directly from p. 145 of the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript, with Bouis's English text in *Testimony*, pp. 106–7, and Brown's version of the parallel passage in 'Tragediia-satira', *Sovetskoe iskusstvo*, 16 October 1932. To be sure, some differences are due to innocent variations in translation. Others, however, are more significant, such as (1) the combination in Bouis and Brown of the last two sentences; (2) the enclosing of the phrase about nightmarish conditions within quotation marks; (3) the addition of a comma-in-sequence before 'and outstanding woman'; and (4) the addition of 'as they say', which is not in either source. As another example, on page 003 of the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript, Brown translates the fourth sentence of paragraph 4 as follows: 'The next year, 1916, I was promoted into Gliasser's class'. He then translates the parallel passage from Shostakovich's 'Autobiography' similarly: 'The next year, 1916, I was promoted into I. A. Gliasser's class'. Neither Russian text, however, has the commas around the date, which were added by Bouis.

Brown's comparisons also ignore important differences in layout. For example, he does not mention that the recycling on page 003 of the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript is divided into five paragraphs, whereas the corresponding passage in the article has no paragraph breaks. To accurately compare the *Testimony* passages and the earlier articles, Brown clearly should have translated the Russian materials directly, without any reference to Bouis's text. As they stand now, his comparisons in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 69–79, sometimes deviate noticeably from the original sources in layout, punctuation, and even word choice.

Table 2: A Comparison of Three Translations

Heikinheimo/Mosc. typescript, p. 145	Bouis's transl. of <i>Testimony</i>, pp. 106–7	Brown's transl. of <i>Sovetskoye isskusstvo</i>
<p>I worked on 'Lady Macbeth' about three years.</p>	<p>I worked on <i>Lady Macbeth</i> for almost three years.</p>	<p>I have been working on <i>Lady Macbeth</i> for almost two and a half years.</p>
<p>Then I envisioned a trilogy, dedicated to the condition of women in different epochs in Russia.</p>	<p>I had announced a trilogy dedicated to the position of women in various eras in Russia.</p>	<p><i>Lady Macbeth</i> is the first part of a planned trilogy dedicated to the position of women in various eras in Russia.</p>
<p>The plot of 'Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk District' is borrowed from the story of Leskov by the same name.</p>	<p>The plot of <i>Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk District</i> is taken from the story of the same name by Nikolai Leskov.</p>	<p>The plot of <i>Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District</i> is taken from the story of the same name by Nikolai Leskov.</p>
<p>This story amazes the reader with extraordinary vividness and fullness.</p>	<p>The story amazes the reader through its unusual vividness and depth, and in terms of being the most truthful and tragic portrayal of the destiny of a talented, smart, and outstanding woman, 'dying in the nightmarish conditions of pre-revolutionary Russia,' as they say, this story, in my opinion, is one of the best.</p>	<p>The story amazes the reader through its unusual vividness and depth, and in terms of being the most truthful and tragic portrayal of the destiny of a talented, smart, and outstanding woman, 'dying in the nightmarish conditions of pre-revolutionary Russia,' as they say, this story, in my opinion, is one of the best.³⁰⁷</p>
<p>In terms of the most truthful and tragic depiction of a talented, smart and outstanding woman, who perishes in the nightmarish conditions of pre-revolutionary Russia, this story, in my view, stands in one of the first places.³⁰⁶</p>		

³⁰⁶ Translated by Dmitry Feofanov without reference to Bouis.

³⁰⁷ Brown, A *Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 73–74.

c. The Meyerhold Recycling

A point we raised in *Shostakovich Reconsidered* deserves further attention here in light of Fay's article in *A Shostakovich Casebook*. We noted that some of the recyclings are verbatim, in words and punctuation, whereas others deviate, sometimes in just a few words and, in the case of the Meyerhold passage at the beginning of Chapter 3, more extensively. Why would Volkov, in 'plagiarizing' all eight passages, alter some and keep others exactly as in the earlier published articles? Fay suggests that Volkov had notes from a conversation with Shostakovich on Meyerhold and that he printed one version of this material as 'Iz vospominanii' in *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, 3, 1974, p. 54, then, using 'reasonable editorial license', reworked this for *Testimony*.³⁰⁸ In response, Volkov has stated repeatedly that although he was asked, in advance, to contribute an introduction to the article in *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, he was not responsible for the article itself nor was he familiar with it while working on *Testimony*.³⁰⁹ To date, Fay has provided no evidence to refute his claim. Although she states that this reminiscence appears 'under the byline of S. Volkov',³¹⁰ his name actually is attached *only* to the introduction that precedes it³¹¹ and no one has provided any proof that the article itself was his work. Moreover, even if Volkov had read this piece in 1974, he still may not have recognized it as a duplication of what is in *Testimony*. As Fay herself acknowledges, this passage

is much less literal in its replication of text than all the other chapter beginnings in the *Testimony* typescript. Sentences have been rephrased, rearranged, or shortened.³¹²

The parallel sections in the Heikinheimo typescript and *Sovetskaya Muzyka* article are juxtaposed in Table 3 on pp. 86–87 (also cf. the facsimiles on pp. 87–88).

³⁰⁸ Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 34. Earlier, on p. 23, Fay points to Carlo Benedetti's 'Dimitri Sciostakovic di fronte ai fatti della vita e dell'arte', *l'Unità*, 20 August 1975, p. 7, in which Volkov quotes a statement by Shostakovich that is similar to the following one in *Sovetskaya Muzyka*: 'It is hard for me to say which of the enumerated works impressed most of all. Everything was extremely interesting. But, I suppose, the most congenial to me was "The Inspector General", perhaps because it had some connection with my work on the opera "The Nose"'. Contrary to Fay, this is not proof that Volkov wrote, or even was familiar with, the earlier article. Shostakovich may well have made the same comment during work on *Testimony* and this material was then left out of or later excised from the memoirs. Fay does not mention that the rest of the quotation in *l'Unità*, about how Meyerhold saved Shostakovich's music from a fire at the former's apartment, parallels material in *Testimony*, p. 78, and that, immediately after this, the Heikinheimo typescript bears evidence of an excision or some other alteration (an extra blank line followed by misaligned margins).

³⁰⁹ Mitchinson, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 308.

³¹⁰ Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 34.

³¹¹ Cf. the facsimile, *ibid.*, p. 24.

³¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34.

Table 3: A Comparison of the Meyerhold Recycling

Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript, p. 106

Я вспоминаю о Мейерхольде слишком часто. Чаше, чем нужно. Потому что мы теперь, можно сказать, соседи. Я часто проезжаю или прохожу мимо мемориальной доски. На доске высечено: "в этом доме жил Мейерхольд." А надо бы еще высечь: "и в этом доме зверски убили его жену." [Moved by someone from typescript page 108 and pasted in at the beginning of page 106 — Eds.]

[1]1928 году в Ленинграде я познакомился с Мейерхольдом. Всеволод Эмильевич позвонил мне по телефону и сказал: "С вами говорит Мейерхольд. Я хочу вас видеть. Если можете, приходите ко мне. Гостиница такая-то, номер такой-то."

Не помню, о чем шла беседа. Помню только, что Всеволод Эмильевич спросил, не хочу ли я пойти к нему в театр. Я сразу ответил согласием. В скором времени я поехал в Москву и стал работать в театре Мейерхольда по музыкальной части.

Но в том же году я ушел оттуда: было слишком много технической работы. Я не нашел себе применения, которое удовлетворило бы и меня и Всеволода Эмильевича, хотя вообще в этом театре мне было очень интересно. И самое замечательное – репетиции Мейерхольда. Когда он готовил свои новые спектакли, это было необыкновенно увлекательно, это было захватывающе.

Sovetskaya Muzyka, 3, 1974, p. 54

Первая моя встреча с Всеволодом Эмильевичем Мейерхольдом произошла в Ленинграде в 1928 году. Он позвонил мне по телефону и сказал: «С вами говорит Мейерхольд. Я хочу вас видеть. Если можете, приходите ко мне. Гостиница такая-то, номер такой-то.» Я и пошел.

Всеволод Эмильевич пригласил меня работать у него в театре. В скором времени я поехал в Москву и стал служить в театре Мейерхольда по музыкальной части. В том же году я ушел оттуда, так как не нашел себе применения, которое удовлетворило бы и меня и Всеволода Эмильевича, хотя вообще мне было интересно. И самый большой интерес вызывали репетиции Мейерхольда, они захватывали.

Моя работа в театре, собственно, заключалась в том, что я играл на рояле. Скажем, если в "Ревизоре" актриса по ходу действия исполняла романс Глинки, то я надевал на себя фрак, выходил, как один из гостей, и садился за рояль. Играл я также и в оркестре.

Я жил у Всеволода Эмильевича на Новинском бульваре. Вечерами мы часто говорили о том, что нужно создать музыкальный спектакль. Тогда я много работал, сочиняя оперу "Нос." Как раз в это время у Всеволода Эмильевича на квартире случился большой пожар.

Моя работа в театре, собственно, заключалась в том, что я играл на рояле. Скажем, если в «Ревизоре» в последнем акте актриса по ходу действия исполняла романс Глинки, то я надевал на себя фрак, выходил на сцену как один из гостей и аккомпанировал актрисе. Играл я также в оркестре.

Жил я у Всеволода Эмильевича на Новинском бульваре, много работал, сочинял оперу «Нос.» Как раз в это время на квартире у Всеволода Эмильевича случился большой пожар.

Facsimile of 'Iz vospominanii', Sovetskaya Muzyka, 3, 1974, p. 54.

Д. Шостакович

ИЗ ВОСПОМИНАНИЙ

Первая моя встреча с Всеволодом Эмильевичем Мейерхольдом произошла в Ленинграде в 1928 году. Он позвонил мне по телефону и сказал: «С вами говорит Мейерхольд. Я хочу вас видеть. Если можете, приходите ко мне. Гостиница такая-то, номер такой-то». Я и пошел.

Всеволод Эмильевич пригласил меня работать у него в театре. В скором времени я поехал в Москву и стал служить в театре Мейерхольда по музыкальной части. В том же году я ушел оттуда, так как не нашел себе применения, которое удовлетворило бы и меня и Всеволода Эмильевича, хотя вообще мне было интересно. И самый большой интерес вызывали репетиции Мейерхольда, они захватывали.

Моя работа в театре, собственно, заключалась в том, что я играл на рояле. Скажем, если в «Ревизоре» в последнем акте актриса по ходу действия исполняла романс Глинки, то я надевал на себя фрак, выходил на сцену как один из гостей и аккомпанировал актрисе. Играл я также в оркестре.

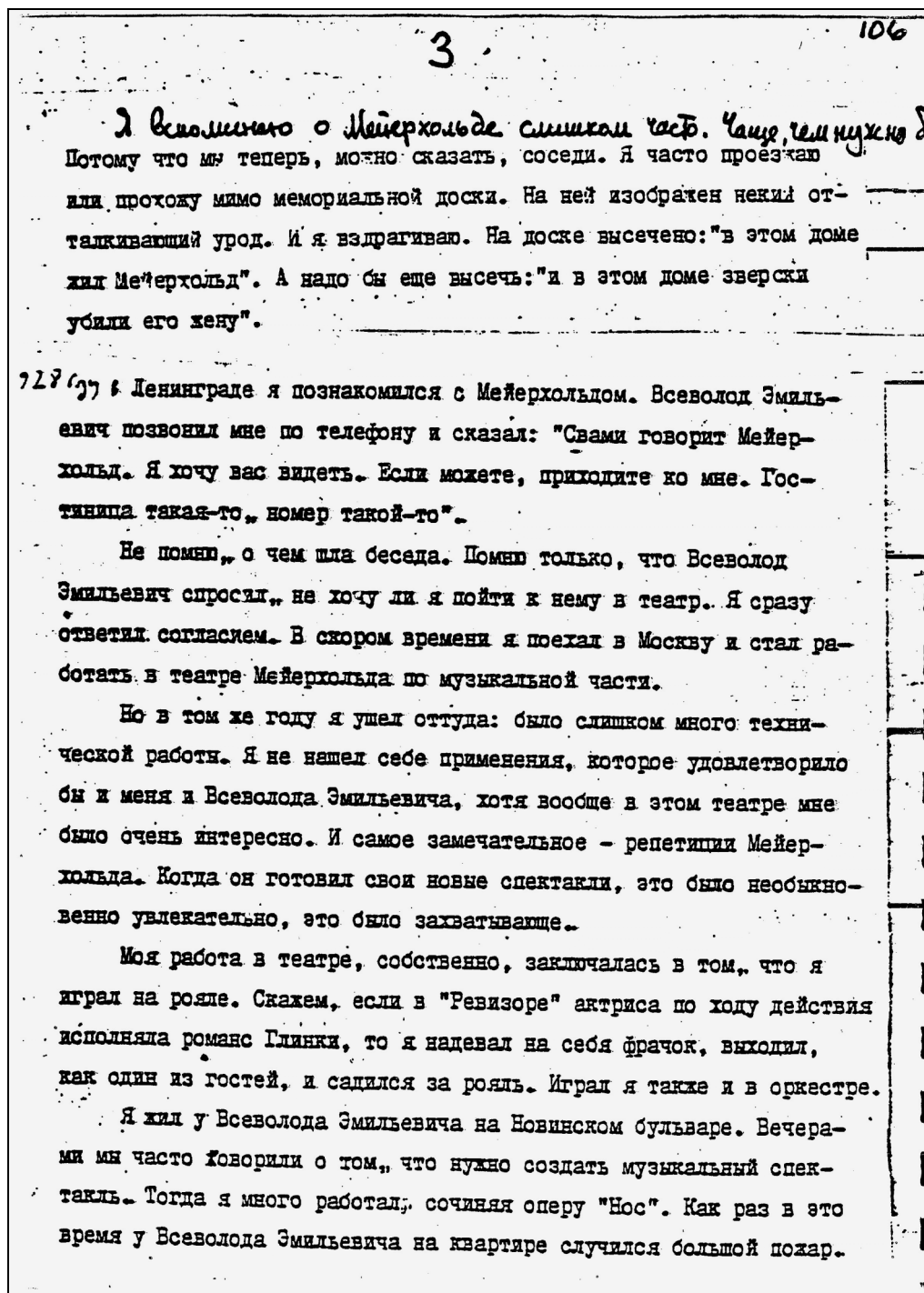
Жил я у Всеволода Эмильевича на Новинском бульваре, много работал, сочинял оперу «Нос». Как раз в это время на квартире у Всеволода Эмильевича случил-

ся большой пожар. В тот момент меня не было дома, он собрал мои рукописи и отдал мне их в полной сохранности. Это было удивительно, ведь могли сгореть его вещи, куда более ценные.

В 1929 году Всеволод Эмильевич опять позвонил мне по телефону в Ленинграде и пригласил к себе в гостиницу, где предложил написать музыку к комедии Маяковского «Клоп». Я сразу согласился и, пока сочинял, проигрывал отдельные фрагменты Всеволоду Эмильевичу. Он слушал и делал замечания. Помню, ему нравились эпизоды для трех баянистов. У него в театре было великолепное трио баянистов. Он интересно их использовал в спектакле.

Я видел многие постановки Мейерхольда — «Смерть Тарелкина», «Лес», «Мандат», «Бубус», «Ревизор», «Командарм 2», «Последний решительный», «33 обморока», «Дама с камелиями», «Пиковая дама», «Маскарад». Во время гастролей в Ленинграде видел я и несколько репетиций последнего его спектакля «Одна жизнь» по роману Н. Островского «Как закалялась сталь». Всеволод Эмильевич приглашал меня написать к этому спектаклю музыку, но тогда я не смог принять его предложение.

Мне чрезвычайно трудно сказать, какая из перечисленных работ произвела на меня наиболее сильное впечатление. Все было необыкновенно интересно. Однако, пожалуй, самым близким мне оказался «Ревизор», может быть потому, что в нем ощущалось какое-то соприкосновение с моей работой над оперой «Нос».



³¹³ For a translation, cf. Brown, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 72-73. The facsimile of the top of page 106 of the Moscow typescript in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 32, is identical to that in the Heikinheimo typescript (even with regard to extraneous lines and specks), except that the handwritten "1" of "1928" in paragraph 2 has been cut off during photocopying in the facsimile above.

Finally, let us consider the basic logic of Fay's hypothesis regarding the recyclings. She suggests that Volkov had access to and knowingly recycled eight passages in *Testimony*. If that were true, how much more difficult would it have been for him to modify each and every one of those texts, like the Meyerhold one, to disguise their origin? Even a C-student in college, let alone high school, can paraphrase a text sufficiently to make it appear original or, at least, 'less borrowed'. If Volkov had before him the other seven previously published articles, couldn't he have reworked them as easily as the Meyerhold passage? Are we to believe that this 'master forger', who supposedly was able to mimic Shostakovich's language so well as to fool the composer's children, was unable, or simply forgot, to change most of the texts to disguise his 'plagiarism'?

d. Reverse Recycling

In *Shostakovich Reconsidered* we first questioned if material originating from work on *Testimony* actually had been published elsewhere in advance of the memoirs. For example, were the reminiscences of Stravinsky and Meyerhold, first published in 1973 in *I. F. Stravinsky: Stat'i i materialy*, p. 7, and in 1974 in *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, respectively, recycled in *Testimony* or the other way around? By 1973–74, Shostakovich had already received from Volkov some of the pretyped text of the memoirs for examination.³¹⁴ Could he have simply given the book's compiler, L. S. Dyachkova, or the journal's editor material that was convenient and 'at hand', with or without Volkov's knowledge? Fay finds such a notion unlikely;³¹⁵ however, in at least one other instance material originating from *Testimony* did, indeed, circulate first elsewhere. According to Anatoly Kuznetsov, Shostakovich's reminiscence of Yudina contained in his *Maria Veniaminovna Yudina: stati, vospominaniia, materialy* ('Maria Veniaminovna Yudina: Articles, Reminiscences, Materials'; Moscow, 1978) stems from the Volkov/Shostakovich conversations, which he not only knew about, but had no reason to doubt as a source of reliable information.³¹⁶ Notice the similarity between pp. 39–41 of this book, translated below, and pp. 51–58 of *Testimony*, even if the former underwent modification by the book's general editor, Mr. Aksyuk,³¹⁷ and includes additional material. The parallels with *Testimony* are given in the footnotes:

³¹⁴ As noted on p. 26, it is often overlooked that Shostakovich was allowed to examine portions of the text before it was typed in spring 1974.

³¹⁵ Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 42: 'If we accept Ho and Feofanov's explanations, we must be prepared to believe that Shostakovich himself surreptitiously copied Volkov's transcribed texts without informing him, and then arranged for their publication'. Why, one wonders, is this so difficult to believe? These were, after all, *Shostakovich's* words and he had every right to publish them wherever he pleased.

³¹⁶ Wilson pp. 36–37, also includes some of this material, but does not mention that it originated from the Volkov/Shostakovich sessions or that it closely follows passages in *Testimony*.

³¹⁷ Email from Denis Plutalov, 28 June 2005, a close friend of Kuznetsov, who relayed this information from the latter.

In 1921, in the class of Leonid Vladimirovich Nikolayev, my piano teacher, there was an amazing graduation: Yudina and Sofronitsky. Their graduate recital in the Small Hall of the Conservatory — was one of the strongest musical impressions of my youth. The Small Hall was filled to capacity, everyone felt a special atmosphere, holiday high spirits, without hysterics. The success of the graduates (both Sofronitsky and Yudina played, if I remember, the B minor sonata by Liszt, and Sofronitsky played first — Nikolayev’s students always played in strict alphabetical order) was extraordinary. Prolonged ovation — I would say, intelligent prolonged ovation — nothing compared to the success of some cheap tenor.³¹⁸

Nikolayev presented Yudina and Sofronitsky as examples to other pupils. ‘Listen — he told me — how Marusya plays this piece’.³¹⁹ (He called Yudina Marusya, and Sofronitsky — Vova, or Vovochka.) ‘Just listen, how she plays four-part fugues — each voice has its own timbre’. I listened: true, every voice had its own timbre, although theoretically it appeared impossible.³²⁰ Maria Veniaminovna played Bach superbly. Sometimes she and I played four hands. The deal was, our professor was often late: he would schedule a class, suppose, for eleven, but he would come at three, or sometimes at four. Students, for the most part, would run away — it was a hard time, and we had other troubles. I and Maria Veniaminovna were the most insistent of students: we would get scores from the library and would sight-read, waiting for Nikolayev.³²¹ I remember, we played Taneyev’s prelude and fugue in G-sharp minor in four hands. Yudina sight-read it without difficulty, even though it was a fairly difficult work.

I showed her my works, for piano and others. Maria Veniaminovna rather liked them. On her part, she introduced me to the piano music of Křenek, Hindemith, and Bartok. The F-sharp minor piano concerto of Křenek in her interpretation I rather liked; once or twice I with pleasure played the second piano for her.³²²

³¹⁸ *Testimony*, pp. 57–58: ‘In 1921 they [Yudina and Sofronitsky] were graduating from the Conservatory and both were playing Liszt’s B Minor Sonata. Their recitals were a sensation [. . .].’

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 51: ‘Nikolayev often said to me, “Go and listen to how Marusya plays”. (He called her Marusya [. . .]); p. 57: ‘Nikolayev’s other favorite student was Vladimir Sofronitsky, whom Nikolayev called Vovochka’.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 51: ““Go and listen. In a four-voice fugue, every voice has its own timbre when she plays”. / That seemed astounding — could it be possible? I would go and listen, hoping, naturally, to find that the professor was wrong, that it was just wishful thinking. Most astounding was that when Yudina played, each of the four voices really had its own timbre, difficult as that is to imagine’.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 51: ‘The times were hard, even the teachers didn’t make much effort. [. . .] it was cold at the Conservatory, there was no heat, so Nikolayev came up with this solution — he came late. The students would tire of waiting and leave. But I sat and waited. / Sometimes another stubborn student, Yudina, and I would get four-hand transcriptions from the library and play to pass the time’.

³²² *Ibid.*, p. 53: ‘I showed Yudina my works [. . .]. It was Yudina, after all, who introduced us to the piano music of Křenek, Hindemith, and Bartók. She learned Křenek’s Piano Concerto in F minor [sic] and it

Yudina played Liszt wonderfully — those small works of his, where Liszt placed notes with unusual for him scarcity, such as *Les Cloches des Genève* (the best, I think, of his piano works).³²³ She really understood Beethoven. I was particularly amazed by her performance of the last Beethoven sonata, in C minor. Listening to the second movement — very difficult for comprehension — it was impossible to relax even for a second. By the way, it was Yudina who suggested to me to learn Opus 106, the famous Hammerklavier. ‘Why do you keep playing Moonlight or Appassionata — she chastised me once — learn the Hammerklavier!’ Nikolayev agreed; before the time I brought the work to this class, I showed it several times to Yudina.³²⁴

Maria Veniaminovna was a very kind and pure person, but, I suppose, probably not very happy. In essence, she was very lonely.³²⁵

In her performance, everything depended on the emotional condition. When I tried to ascertain the reasons for her interpretation of this or that, she inevitably answered: ‘I feel it this way, this way is more convincing’.³²⁶

During my studies with Nikolayev, Yudina was one of my idols. Sometimes I tried to imitate her in performance — if she does a ritenuto somewhere — this means, I too would do it in that spot. Much later I understood that I was probably going along the wrong way. I should not have copied particular tricks or colors, but tried to learn something more all encompassing. But even this youthful imitation was good for me — after all, I imitated such a mature master as was in the conservatory years Maria Veniaminovna Yudina.

made a great impression on me in her interpretation. / [. . .] In those days, I remember, I enjoyed playing second piano for Yudina . . .’

³²³ *Ibid.*, p. 52: ‘Yudina was wonderful at those Liszt pieces that didn’t have quite so many notes, for instance, “Les Cloches de Genève”, which I think is his best piano work’.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 52: ‘Once Yudina stung me rather badly. I had learned Beethoven’s *Moonlight* and *Appassionata* Sonatas and I performed them often, particularly the *Appassionata*. And Yudina said to me, “Why do you keep playing them? Take on the *Hammerklavier*”. / I was hurt by the mockery and I went to Nikolayev, who agreed to let me learn the *Hammerklavier*. Before bringing it to Nikolayev, I played it for Yudina several times, because she had a marvelous understanding of Beethoven. I was especially impressed by her performance of Beethoven’s last sonata, opus 111. The second part is extremely long and extremely boring, but when Yudina played I didn’t seem to notice’.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51: ‘Yudina was a strange person, and very much a loner’.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 53: ‘[. . .] there were some interpretations that I didn’t understand and when I asked her about these I usually got the reply, “I feel it that way”’.

e. Correction Tape

In *A Shostakovich Casebook*, Fay calls attention to shadow lines in two recycled passages in the Moscow typescript that she interprets as ‘correction tape’ intended to hide ‘a temporal reference that would allow a reader to infer the date when the reminiscences were originally produced’. She claims that the missing sentence on the first page of Chapter 6 (typescript page 250) reads, ‘I am sincerely happy that the 100th anniversary of his [Chekhov’s] birth is attracting anew to him the attention of all progressive humanity’, and that that on the first page of Chapter 5 (typescript page 211) reads, ‘After all, nearly thirty years had passed since the days of its [*Katerina Izmailova*’s] composition’.³²⁷ Although it is true that these gaps appear not only in the Moscow typescript, but also in the one circulated by Heikinheimo, signs of correction tape or missing text were not mentioned or recalled by anyone who examined and worked with the original typescript in 1979. As noted earlier, Orlov, after examining a different Russian text than the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript, stated that there are ‘no alterations or even slight corrections’.

One also has to question the logic of Fay’s speculation. Supposedly, Volkov copied earlier articles by Shostakovich, pretending to be compiling them for a new publication, and showed these to the composer to obtain his approval. Then Volkov kept just the first pages of these old articles (those with Shostakovich’s signatures), disposed of the remainder, and continued each chapter with his own original text. There are a number of problems with this:

- (1) No evidence has been found that Volkov was ever working on a compilation of Shostakovich’s earlier articles;
- (2) Litvinova has reported what Shostakovich told her about his collaboration with a young Leningrad musicologist, whom no one disputes was Volkov. No mention was made of work on a compilation;
- (3) The text of *Testimony* was typed only in spring 1974. If Volkov were planning to tamper with it, wouldn’t he have decided to do so before that late date and, if so, why would he include sentences that he would later have to cover up with ‘correction tape’?
- (4) Although Fay does not mention it, many such shadow lines and corrections appear elsewhere in the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript (e.g., on pages 001, 039, 070, 326, 328, 333, 334, 335, 339, 343, 344, 345, 353, and 354). Until the original typescript becomes available, we and Fay can only guess about what was changed;

³²⁷ Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 30.

- (5) If the ‘correction tape’ mentioned by Fay does hide inappropriate ‘temporal references’, why didn’t Volkov simply black them out with a broad-tipped marker, as someone did elsewhere in the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript (e.g., on pages 063, 122, 123, 220, 223, 236, 293, 298, 326, 335, 352, 353, and 390)? And finally,
- (6) Consider the recycled passage in Chapter 4. In the earlier article, Shostakovich writes, ‘I have been working on *Lady Macbeth* for almost two and a half years’, whereas the *Testimony* typescript reads, ‘I worked on “Lady Macbeth” for almost three years’. Clearly, a change in temporal reference is evident here, with no signs of correction tape or other alteration. Equally as clear, Volkov could have similarly corrected or removed inappropriate temporal references in Chapters 5 and 6 before the text was typed and still have obtained Shostakovich’s approval. Again, are we to believe that Volkov remembered to ‘fix’ the passage about *Lady Macbeth*, then was unable, or simply forgot, to fix the other two before having the manuscript typed?

f. Lengths of the Recyclings

In earlier sections, we raised questions about the accuracy and completeness of the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript, noting that while it may be derived from the original Russian text, it includes changes that were neither mentioned nor later recognized by people who examined that material in 1979. Until the original typescript becomes available, questions will remain, for example, about where the page break occurs at the end of the first page of Chapter 3 (typescript page 106), about Meyerhold. In *A Shostakovich Casebook*, mention is made that the first paragraph has been pasted in from typescript page 108; no mention is made, however, that the first paragraph on the next page, 107, also appears to have been pasted in, as evidenced by the misaligned margins. Was this paragraph originally at the bottom of page 106 and displaced when the new paragraph was added? Where exactly is the page break in the original typescript? Chapter 7 (typescript page 326; facsimile below), about Musorgsky, also displays significant signs of having been altered. The first line does not have the normal indentation, but instead begins 1 1/2 inches from the right-hand margin, suggesting that this paragraph, too, may have been moved from elsewhere or somehow changed. If so, did these eight lines displace the original text and alter the page break? Is the page break in the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript the same as in the original?

ГЛАВА СЕДЬМАЯ

326

У меня с Мусоргским сложились, наверное, "особые отношения". Я у него целую академию прошел, человеческую, политическую и художественную. И не только глазами или ушами у него учился. Для композитора этого недостаточно, вообще для профессионала. /Так ведь и в других искусствах. Сколько больших живописцев, например, годами просиживали, не разгибая спины, за копиями. И ничего постыдного в этом не находили./

Я благоговею перед Мусоргским, считаю его величайшим русским композитором.

Почти одновременно с созданием ^{квартета и т.д.} квартета я был занят работой над новой редакцией оперы Мусоргского "Борис Годунов". Мне пришлось пересмотреть партитуру, кое-где сгладить шероховатости гармонизации, неудачную и зычную оркестровку, отдельные гармонические ходы. В оркестровку введен ряд инструментов, которые не были использованы ни Мусоргским, ни Римским-Корсаковым, редактировавшим "Бориса Годунова".

Мусоргский много изменял и переделывал под влиянием советов Стасова, Римского-Корсакова и других. Многие изменил в опере и сам Римский-Корсаков в процессе редактирования.

Редакция "Бориса Годунова", сделанная Римским-Корсаковым, отражает ~~его~~ мысли и мастерство прошлого века. Нельзя не отнестись к огромной работе Римского-Корсакова с чувством величайшего уважения. Но мне хотелось проредактировать оперу в ином плане. Я стремился достигнуть большего симфонического развития оперы, дать оркестру роль большую, чем только сопровождение певцов.

Римский-Корсаков был деспотичен, стремился подчинить партитуру Мусоргского своей творческой манере, многое пересочинил, кое-что дописал. Я лишь изменял отдельные такты и лишь

Upon examining Chapter 7 of the Heikinheimo/Moscow typescript, Heddy Pross-Weerth noted that it

corresponds with the German version, too, although the condition in which the manuscript is in may give reasons for such a speculation. [. . .]

Quite strange is the fact that in the Moscow manuscript the text is divided into many small paragraphs. In the German translation, many of the paragraphs are fragmented this way to three or four parts. I'm almost sure that this does not occur in my [Russian] version, but I'm not able to verify this [having returned the Russian typescript after translating it — Eds.].³²⁸

Brown is correct in noting that the verbatim and near-verbatim recycling in the eight passages in question usually spans a single page, and that afterwards the texts diverge, sometimes considerably. Why would this be so? When asked about this, Volkov could only speculate that he began chapters with material from the beginnings of sessions, and that Shostakovich, in 'warming up', may have repeated some of his previously published words. He again affirmed that he was not aware of any of these earlier published texts and that everything in *Testimony* came from Shostakovich's mouth. Could it merely be coincidence that the recycled material ends near a page break, sometimes in mid-sentence and sometimes running briefly onto the next page? Critics of *Testimony*, of course, will find this difficult to accept. But consider the following. Volkov does not type,³²⁹ so how did he control the page breaks in the typescript? Why also would Volkov want to limit the recycled material to just one page? Are we to believe that he was so eager to put his own words into Shostakovich's mouth that he would even break-off from the earlier text in mid-sentence? Why not continue the recycling a paragraph or two onto the next page, just in case someone checked? And why does the text on the second page of chapters sometimes deviate considerably from the earlier article and sometimes continue to follow it, albeit less verbatim?

It is worth noting that Brown, in comparing the beginning of Chapter 7 with Shostakovich's earlier article about Musorgsky, ends at the top of typescript page 327 (i.e., after just one page). Had he continued further, he would have noticed additional parallels between the texts, as demonstrated in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 201–5. Unfortunately, when the texts do diverge considerably, Brown does not ponder whether these differences reflect actual changes in the composer's views, many of which have now been corroborated elsewhere. As noted on pp. 98–100 below, the criticism of Boris Asafiev in Chapter 7 is understandable given Shostakovich's private views of him, which

³²⁸ Letter from Pross-Weerth, 16 June 2004 (facsimile on p. 70 above): 'Auch der Text von Kapitel 7 entspricht der deutschen Fassung, obwohl der Zustand des Manuskripts die Vermutung nahelegt. [. . .] / Befremdlich ist im Moskauer Manuskript die Unterteilung in viele, kleine Absätze. Oft ist in der deutschen Übersetzung ein einziger Absatz drei bis vier Mal unterteilt. Ob das in meiner Textvorlage auch der Fall ist, bezweifle ich sehr, kann es ja aber leider nicht nachprüfen'.

³²⁹ Shostakovich session, Mannes College of Music, 1999. This is consistent with his 1979 statement that he 'had the text typed', rather than typing it himself (*Testimony*, p. xvii). Volkov to this day writes his letters and books by hand or by dictation; when necessary, others type his materials for him.

obviously could not be expressed in an article published in 1941. Even Fay acknowledges that their relationship deteriorated after May 1926 and that later there was no love lost between them.³³⁰ Curiously, Fay elsewhere seems to reject the idea that the composer could change his views over time. She questions how Shostakovich could protest about comments made about Glazunov in Sol Hurok's reminiscences of 1959, then twelve years later, paint an 'expansive and comparatively affectionate portrait' of that composer that 'dwells cruelly on Glazunov's human weaknesses, his drinking problem, his dependencies, his infantilism'.³³¹

Clearly, *Testimony* does not show Shostakovich as a two-dimensional figure, contrary to its critics, but as one whose tastes, opinions, and relationships changed over the years. As noted in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, what appears to some as contradictions actually reflects the composer's real and evolving opinions. Marina Sabinina, when asked 'what was Shostakovich like in the 1970s when Volkov talked with him?' responded: 'Gloomy, reserved, and unsociable. Completely different than he'd been in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s'.³³² And in *Dmitry Shostakovich: v pis'makh i dokumentakh*, p. 510, mention is made that 'at the very end of his life Dmitry Dmitriyevich, understanding that he does not have much time to live, clearly felt the need to talk more candidly'.³³³

³³⁰ Laurel E. Fay, 'Shostakovich, LASM, and Asafiev', in Bartlett (ed.), *Shostakovich in Context*, pp. 51–66.

³³¹ Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 57. Also cf. Shostakovich's letter to Yury Keldysh, 24 June 1959 in *Dmitry Shostakovich: v pis'makh i dokumentakh*, p. 422. One has to wonder if Shostakovich, in this instance, badly over-reacted to the passage in Hurok's reminiscences. It is most peculiar that Soviet officials, always acutely interested in protecting their composers' image (as seen with the *Testimony* controversy), did not find Hurok's words insulting. Shostakovich here also criticizes Ilya Repin's great and often reproduced portrait of Musorgsky.

Brown similarly portrays Shostakovich as an unchanging, two-dimensional figure. On Andrew Ford's radio program 'Music and Ideology' (2004), he quoted the composer in 1933 refusing to describe the 'artistic meaning' of his Piano Concerto:

I consider it absolutely superfluous to follow the example of the number of composers who take the line of least resistance and always try to decode the content of their compositions with extraneous definitions drawn from some related field of art or literature. I cannot describe the content of my concerto with any means other than those with which the concerto is written.

While Shostakovich did prefer to let his music speak for itself (as is evident in *Testimony*, p. 183, and *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 262–64), he also recognized later in life the need to explain, in words, the intended meanings of works that he believed had been misunderstood. Cf. his comments on the Eighth Quartet and Seventh Symphony (pp. 126, 134–38, and 265–66 below, and *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 160–64 and 150–59, respectively).

³³² Nikolskaya, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 155.

³³³ For example, with his old and trustworthy friend Gavriil Yudin.

IV. Corroborating *Testimony*

Because questions will always remain about the recycled passages in *Testimony*, it is the scholar's responsibility to examine other aspects of the text for evidence of its accuracy and authenticity. The critics of *Testimony*, by and large, have focused only on eight of the 400-plus pages of the typescript. Having demonstrated that these are consistent with earlier published words by Shostakovich, they then conclude that the remaining text is suspect. Some even wish to 'throw the baby out with the bath water', wanting *Testimony* to 'go away' because they find it a 'nuisance' and 'impediment' to their own research on the composer!³³⁴ Unlike these scholars, we attempted in *Shostakovich Reconsidered* to consider the memoirs *in toto* and demonstrated repeatedly that even without Shostakovich's inscriptions the text rings true and is corroborated by a wealth of other sources.³³⁵

Levon Hakobian, a staunch critic of the memoirs, wrote in 1998: 'I do not presume that I myself be competent enough to elucidate what in the *Testimony* [was] really meant, and what was added, if not falsified, by Volkov'.³³⁶ Yet, even he, six years later in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, concluded: 'the authenticity of *Testimony* has for a long time needed no further proof: virtually everything in the book has been confirmed one way or another by information from independent sources'.³³⁷ To be sure, material published after *Shostakovich Reconsidered* was issued in 1998 continues to corroborate the memoirs, including the reminiscences of Maxim and Galina Shostakovich. Therefore, we provide below additional examples of once controversial passages and peculiar turns of phrases in *Testimony* that now have been deemed correct and genuine even by some of the very people who questioned the accuracy and authenticity of the memoirs.³³⁸

1. Shostakovich on Figures in His Life

a. Anna Akhmatova

In *Testimony*, p. 274, Shostakovich recalls a meeting with Akhmatova: 'We sat in silence. I was silent and Akhmatova was silent. We said nothing for a while then

³³⁴ Fay, paper, national meeting of the American Musicological Society, 3 November 1995.

³³⁵ Cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 33–311, concerning earlier corroboration of Shostakovich's voice, opinions, and intended meanings of specific works in *Testimony*.

³³⁶ Hakobian, p. 56.

³³⁷ Hakobian, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 232. He goes on to state that 'the issue is not the authenticity of Shostakovich's memoirs but that the book, truth be told, is rather crude and jejune' (i.e., he no longer questions *Testimony's* source, but objects to its tone and emphasis).

³³⁸ The wealth of corroboration here and in *Shostakovich Reconsidered* soundly refutes John Simon's misguided claim, based largely on Fay's writings, that

for the fanciful declarations inside the chapters [of *Testimony*], there is no confirmation by parallels in anything Shostakovich ever said or wrote, or anything that family, friends or other witnesses remembered (*John Simon on Music: Music Criticism 1979–2005*, Applause Theatre and Cinema Books, New York, 2005, p. 473).

parted'. Michael Ardov and Maxim Shostakovich have now corroborated that verbal communication between these artists could, indeed, be a problem:

At breakfast on the morning of the day of his [Shostakovich's] visit Akhmatova was in a quandary, saying: 'Everything's fine, but I don't know what one should talk to Shostakovich about'. Maxim later told us that when his father was getting ready to go to Ordinka Street to meet with Akhmatova, he said several times, 'What am I going to talk to Akhmatova about?'³³⁹

b. Boris Asafiev

A major difference between the Mussorgsky passage in Chapter 7 of *Testimony* and its earlier incarnation in *Izvestia* (1941) concerns Shostakovich's disagreement with Asafiev over the orchestration in *Boris Godunov* and his negative appraisal of this musicologist:

Of course, there was one notable character, Boris Asafiev, who proposed that there was a theoretical basis for Mussorgsky's incompetence. This Boris was known for his ability to invent a theoretical basis for almost anything. He spun like a top. Anyway, Asafiev maintained that all the scenes I just mentioned were orchestrated wonderfully by Mussorgsky, that it was part of his plan. He intended the coronation scene to be lackluster to show that the people were against Boris's coronation. This was the people's form of protest — clumsy orchestration. And in the Polish Act, Asafiev would have you believe, Mussorgsky was exposing the decadent gentry, and therefore let the Poles dance to poor instrumentation. That was his way of punishing them. / Only it's all nonsense.³⁴⁰

Shostakovich's rapidly deteriorating relationship with Asafiev is evident early on in his letters to Boleslav Yavorsky:

[16 December 1925]: And yet, I began to value the conservatory more since B. V. Asafiev appeared there. I always valued Asafiev as a musician and for his primordial love of music. I am sorry I still have not become acquainted with him. After I showed him the symphony, I feel that the ice was broken, and I can talk with him. Of all Leningrad musicians I value him most of all.³⁴¹

³³⁹ Ardov, pp. 144–45. Also cf. Ian MacDonald's 'Akhmatova, Shostakovich, and the "Seventh"' in *The New Shostakovich*, rev. edn., pp. 341–44.

³⁴⁰ *Testimony*, p. 227; also cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 204.

³⁴¹ *Dmitry Shostakovich: v pis'makh i dokumentakh*, p. 49.

[13 May 1926]: Asafiev, as a matter of principle, did not come to hear the symphony, because the concert was sponsored by the Association for Contemporary Music, with which, supposedly, he has principled disagreements. This, however, is really not the case. It is that Asafiev is not a chairman. That's all. The fact that he did not come yesterday pushed me away from him forever. A dirty plotter, nothing else.³⁴²

[6 March 1927]: Recently, a friend came to me. We talked about this and that. The name 'Asafiev' came up. I then said that Asafiev is the most vulgar person I know.³⁴³

Fay documents, in still greater detail, that 'the honeymoon ended on 12 May 1926 when Asafiev failed to attend the première of Shostakovich's First Symphony. Shostakovich, for whom this was an event of the utmost significance, an anniversary that he would celebrate for the rest of his life, could not forgive him'.³⁴⁴ She adds that despite Shostakovich's later, more positive statements about Asafiev in the Soviet press,

I can find no contemporary evidence to suggest that Shostakovich experienced any thawing of relations with Asafiev in the period following the première of the First Symphony. Rather the contrary [. . .].

[T]he weight of credible evidence suggests that, beyond the observance of civilities that would have been necessary in the confined community of Leningrad's cultural sphere, Shostakovich and Asafiev never found common ground on which to build a mutually rewarding relationship.³⁴⁵

Marina Rakhmanova agrees with this conclusion and recently has demonstrated how Shostakovich's personal opinion of Asafiev was sanitized in the Soviet press. In a handwritten fragment of an autobiography from 1956, Shostakovich states: 'With B. V. Asafiev, who was a very gifted man and who loved music, I severed all relations

³⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 65.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 107. Also *cf.* the letters of 27 June, and 3 and 22 November 1925 in the same collection, pp. 27, 37, and 45. Asafiev's disagreement was with Yuliya Veisberg, the head of the Leningrad Association for Contemporary Music, which had sponsored the concert. The program also included Veisberg's cantata *The Twelve*.

³⁴⁴ Fay, 'Shostakovich, LASM, and Asafiev', in *Shostakovich in Context*, p. 58.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 61 and 66. On pp. 65 and 62–63, respectively, Fay quotes the composer's older sister, Mariya, stating: 'He also didn't forgive Asafiev for his pusillanimity in 1936 and 1948', a reference to Asafiev's statement in *Sovetskaya Muzyka* unequivocally endorsing the editorials in *Pravda* in 1936 as well as his 'perfidious role in the First Composers' Union Congress in April 1948, when he contributed his considerable prestige and authority to the persecution of the leading Soviet composers and, in turn, was elected Chairman of the Composers' Union. In the first half of the keynote speech [. . .] Asafiev targeted Shostakovich for censure [. . .]'. In fairness to Asafiev, he was neither present at the first Composers' Congress in April 1948 nor was he the author of the keynote address read in his name. Asafiev's wife recalled that shortly before the Congress, her husband, then severely ill, had been forced to sign this speech. Doing so left him emotionally distraught.

immediately after I became convinced of his careerism and lack of principles'.³⁴⁶ However, what appeared in *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, 9, 1956, p. 11 was: 'I noted on many occasions how he shifted his positions in questions of art, but continued to respect him as a big musicologist'.³⁴⁷ Shostakovich's original text elaborates on his criticism of Asafiev:

My teacher M. O. Shteinberg often liked to say: 'exception proves the rule'. Pushkin, in 'Mozart and Salieri' says: 'a genius and evil are not compatible'. And if we take this definition of Pushkin as a rule, and if careerism and lack of principles is evil, then B. V. Asafiev was the only exception to the rule. All outstanding musicians, whom I had the privilege of knowing, who gifted their friendship to me, understood very well the difference between good and evil . . .³⁴⁸

Given this wealth of evidence, even Fay acknowledges that the ten 'uniformly unflattering' references to Asafiev in the memoirs are on the mark: 'the subject of Asafiev is one of the areas in *Testimony* where the voice and opinions of Shostakovich ring true'.³⁴⁹ She further notes that the above-quoted remarks from *Testimony*, p. 227, 'echo opinions Shostakovich expressed in an interview he gave on 25 July 1970'³⁵⁰ (i.e., just before work on the memoirs began).

c. Mukhtar Ashrafi

In *Testimony*, p. 175, Shostakovich speaks disparagingly of the Uzbek composer Ashrafi:

Take the astonishing rise of Mukhtar Ashrafi, famous composer, and not only in his native Uzbekistan. He is the recipient of two Stalin Prizes, is a People's Artist of the U.S.S.R., and a professor. He even has the Order of Lenin. The reason I know his title and awards so well is that I handled his case. He turned out to be a shameless plagiarist and thief. I was chairman of the commission that smoked him out. We dug around in shit, 'analyzing' his music, hearing depositions from witnesses — and in vain, as it turned out. At first we seemed to have got some results. He was expelled from the Composers' Union. But recently I was thumbing through a magazine, I don't remember which, and I saw a familiar name. Ashrafi was giving an interview. He was in power again, sharing his

³⁴⁶ Rakhmanova, p. 7.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7, note 2.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³⁴⁹ Fay, *Shostakovich in Context*, p. 66.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 66, citing B. Gurevich, 'Shostakovich v rabote nad Khovanshchina' ('Shostakovich in Work on *Khovanshchina*'), *Voprosi teorii i estetiki muzyki*, 11, 1972, p. 86.

creative plans, which were quite extensive. How can you keep from washing your hands of it, and saying to hell with it?³⁵¹

Glikman confirms that on 25 May 1975 (i.e., soon after Shostakovich completed work on his memoirs), Ashrafi was, indeed, on the composer's mind:

Shostakovich said: 'I have been hearing about the Uzbek composer Mukhtar Ashrafi's boorish attacks on the teachers at the Tashkent Conservatoire. When I get back to Moscow I intend to come to the defence of the professors he has insulted and humiliated in this way. This won't be easy, because Ashrafi is the darling of the Uzbek authorities. Do you remember my going to Tashkent many years ago to do something similar, and those rogues in the local Union of Composers all but succeeded in poisoning me and despatching me there and then to the next world?'³⁵²

Hakobian also comments on Ashrafi's fall and rise again to power, corroborating what is in *Testimony*:

The most remarkable one among such 'minor brothers' was the Uzbek musician Mukhtar Ashrafovich Ashrafi (1912–1975), pupil of Vasilenko, Shekhter, Shteynberg, co-author of Vasilenko's opera *Buran* ('The Storm', 1939) and composer of many operas, vocal, symphonic, chamber works. In 1959, he was accused of plagiarism, the ground for such an accusation being more than convincing [. . .]; he was even expelled from the Composers' Union. Later, however, he managed to clean up his image. The Conservatoire of Tashkent bears his name.³⁵³

³⁵¹ Also cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 268, note 59, for Khentova's corroboration of this passage as well as the attempt on Shostakovich's life. An early charge against *Testimony*, that Shostakovich would not have used such earthy language, now has been refuted not only by his *Rayok* (cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 271–86), but by letters such as the following from *Pis'ma I. I. Sollertinskomu* (*Letters to I. I. Sollertinsky*), Kompozitor, St. Petersburg, 2006, p. 175:

Once *** one of the members of the ballet troupe collected goat shit in a baggie from candies (as is well known, goat shit resembles round sugar candies) and began pretending that he is eating them, taking them out of the bag.

'What are you eating?'

'Candy'.

'Give me some'.

'Here you go'.

The other takes the round thing in his mouth and exclaims: 'This is shit!'

The first notes, 'How smart you are'.

The laughter of all standing around is indescribable.

³⁵² *Story of a Friendship*, p. 205.

³⁵³ Hakobian, p. 122, note 80.

d. Anton Chekhov and Sonata Form

In *Testimony*, p. 223, Shostakovich makes a highly original comment about the organization of Chekhov's *The Black Monk*: 'I am certain that Chekhov constructed *The Black Monk* in sonata form, that there is an introduction, an exposition with main and secondary themes, development, and so on'. As Raymond Clarke and Rosamund Bartlett have observed,³⁵⁴ this is entirely consistent with what the composer stated in an article written for the fiftieth anniversary of Tchaikovsky's death and published on 7 November 1943 in *Literatura i iskusstvo*: 'Chaikovsky wrote his Sixth Symphony, Chekhov his *The Black Monk* (which is, by the way, one of the most musical works of Russian literature, written almost in sonata form)'.³⁵⁵ Shostakovich reiterated this opinion in 1960, in an article in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* celebrating the 100th anniversary of Chekhov's birth. The first part of this tribute is well known because it is one of the eight recyclings in *Testimony*, p. 178, commented on by Fay. Although other passages are not mentioned by Fay, Bartlett writes that 'the second part of Shostakovich's *Literaturnaya* article, where he explains why he thinks Chekhov is a musical writer, and declares that the story "The Black Monk" is composed in "sonata form", also appears word for word at a later point in *Testimony*'.³⁵⁶

Bartlett also notes that during the very time that Shostakovich worked on *Testimony*, the composer was reminded again of his earlier observation regarding 'The Black Monk':

in 1971 . . . he was sent an article about the presence of sonata form in the story by the literary scholar Nikolay Fortunatov.³⁵⁷ It had been Shostakovich's comment in *Literatura i iskusstvo* in 1943 which had originally stimulated Fortunatov to write this article, and in December 1971 the critic received a cordial note of thanks from the composer for the copy he had sent him.³⁵⁸ In the meantime, however, Fortunatov had acquainted himself with Abram Derman's 1959 study of Chekhov, in which the author claims (erroneously) that Shostakovich had said 'The Black Monk' was composed like a symphony.³⁵⁹ By now naturally confused, since the terms 'symphony' and 'sonata' (musical genres) are not interchangeable with 'sonata form' (a type of musical construction), Fortunatov wrote to Shostakovich asking for clarification, and he quotes from the composer's second letter to him in a footnote to a revised edition

³⁵⁴ Clarke, unpublished liner note commissioned for the first release of Mravinsky's 1976 recording of Symphony No. 8; Bartlett, *Shostakovich in Context*, pp. 202–3.

³⁵⁵ Translation from Grigor'yev and Platek, p. 105.

³⁵⁶ Bartlett, *Shostakovich in Context*, p. 203. The reference is to *Testimony*, p. 223. Here the material is obviously similar, if not literally 'word for word'. Bartlett, apparently, did not have the Russian text of *Testimony* to compare at that time.

³⁵⁷ N. M. Fortunatov, 'Muzykal'nost' chekhovskoi prozy (opyt analiza formy)' ('Musicality of Chekhov's Speech [An Attempt at Formal Analysis]'), *Filologicheskie nauki*, 3, 1971, pp. 14–25.

³⁵⁸ N. Fortunatov, 'Tri neizvestnykh pis'ma Shostakovicha' ('Three Unknown Letters of Shostakovich'), *Muzykal'naya Zhizn'*, 14, 1988, p. 13.

³⁵⁹ A. Derman, *O masterstve Chekhova (About Chekhov's Art)*, Sovetsky pisatel', Moscow, 1959, p. 116.

of his article on Chekhov which he published in 1974.³⁶⁰ In his letter to Fortunatov in January 1972, Shostakovich declared that he had certainly never said anything about the story being written like a symphony, adding: ‘I should have written “like sonata form”, not “like a sonata”’. Most accurate of all would be to put it this way: “The Black Monk” is written in sonata form’.³⁶¹

Fortunatov’s own detailed explication of sonata form in ‘The Black Month’, originally published in 1971 and then revised in 1974 for inclusion in *Puti iskanii*, pp. 121–26, is summarized by Bartlett, who, like Shostakovich, finds it ‘unconvincing’.³⁶² Fortunatov is clearly the ‘literary critic’ criticized in *Testimony*, p. 223:

One literary critic, to whom I confided my theory, even wrote a scholarly article on it, and quite naturally, got it all confused. Literary critics always get things wrong when they try to write about music, but the article was still printed in some scholarly collection.

e. **Sergey Eisenstein and *Ivan the Terrible***

In *Testimony*, p. 248, Shostakovich criticizes the ‘many Russian creative artists who were infatuated by the person of our leader and teacher and who rushed to create works of praise for him. Besides Mayakovsky, I could mention Eisenstein and his *Ivan the Terrible*, with music by Prokofiev’. Glikman, in his note to Shostakovich’s letter of 29 August 1967, corroborates the composer’s dislike of the film’s Stalinist elements:

Shostakovich found Eisenstein’s film of *Ivan the Terrible* distasteful, especially the second sequence which bore the typically Stalinist-era title of ‘The Boyars’ Plot’. He could appreciate that the film had been masterfully executed, but was still nauseated by the content because of the pervasive spirit of Stalinism hovering above the tendentious treatment of historical fact and the character of Ivan himself.³⁶³

³⁶⁰ N. Fortunatov, ‘Muzykal’nost’ Chekhovskoi prozy’ (‘Musicality of Chekhov’s Speech’), *Puti iskanii*, Sovetsky pisatel’, Moscow, 1974, pp. 105–34.

³⁶¹ Bartlett, *Shostakovich in Context*, pp. 208–9.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 214–15. Bartlett’s own interpretation appears on pp. 215–17 and, in greater detail, in ‘Sonata Form in Chekhov’s “The Black Monk”’, in Andrew Wachtel (ed.), *Intersections and Transpositions: Russian Music, Literature, and Society*, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, Illinois, 1998, pp. 58–72.

³⁶³ *Story of a Friendship*, p. 299, note 29. In his letter of 30 August 1967, Shostakovich comments on still another Eisenstein film, *October*; the latter is also mentioned in the typescript of *Testimony* in a passage that was later crossed out and omitted from all published editions (cf. ‘A Collation of Texts’, pp. 234–35 below).

f. Aleksandr Gauk

In *Testimony*, Shostakovich speaks critically of conductor Aleksandr Gauk: ‘Gauk was a rare specimen of stupidity’ (p. 39). He also mentions how Prokofiev’s letters could be censored and printed with ellipses: ‘Say, if Prokofiev wrote “that idiot Gauk”, they could print it as “that . . . Gauk”’ (p. 38). Shostakovich’s low opinion of this conductor is evident in his letter to Glikman of 28 August 1955:

A few days ago I heard my Ninth Symphony on the radio conducted by Aleksandr Gauk. It was not a good performance. [. . .] Talentless wretch!

You will not agree with me. You think that everybody has talent, including Gauk. I don’t think so. I had long been dreaming of hearing the Ninth Symphony, and I was dreadfully let down by the wretched Gauk. It made me feel sick, as though I had swallowed a fly.³⁶⁴

He continued his criticism the next day to Levon Atov’myan:

Heard the 9th symphony performed by Gauk. Was very unhappy. 2nd movement awfully slow, 5th movement also slow. I became very unhappy because I will have to suffer through this again on September 24th. But this is between us. Let stupid Gauk play. To hell with him . . .³⁶⁵

g. Aleksandr Glazunov

As noted on page 96 above, Fay finds it difficult to accept as genuine Shostakovich’s portrayal of his teacher in the memoirs, which she says ‘dwells cruelly on Glazunov’s human weaknesses, his drinking problem, his dependencies, his infantilism’.³⁶⁶ Here are the passages in *Testimony*, pp. 48 and 59:

Glazunov met my parents and they talked about this and that, when it came out that my father had access to state alcohol. [. . .] And so they came to an agreement: Father would help Glazunov out with alcohol. He would get it for him, from the state reserves.

[. . .] Glazunov really did resemble a large baby, as so many people liked to say. Because a baby is always reaching for a nipple and so was Glazunov. But there was an essential difference. And the difference was that first of all, Glazunov used a special tube instead of a nipple, a rubber

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

³⁶⁵ *Dmitry Shostakovich: v pis'makh i dokumentakh*, p. 303. In Wilson’s *Mstislav Rostropovich*, Faber and Faber, London 2007, p. 135, the cellist similarly recalls that Shostakovich ‘did not particularly like Gauk as a musician or as a person’. When the conductor claimed that the first theme of Shostakovich’s Cello Concerto has a hidden text (“‘We’re all for peace”, ta-ta tà, ta-ta tà! “‘We’re all for peace!’”), Shostakovich responded immediately, ‘Quite correct, quite correct! Of course that’s right, that’s how you should hear it’. This was typical of the composer, who, according to Rostropovich, ‘never bothered to correct a fool’, but would say that ‘Those who have ears can hear’.

³⁶⁶ Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 57.

tube if my observations were correct, and second, instead of milk he was sipping alcohol.

These are not my conjectures, these are facts that I determined and confirmed through repeated observation. Without this fortification, Glazunov was incapable of giving the lesson. That's why he never rose from his desk and that's why his instructions to the class grew more indistinct and shorter.

Recently, Vladislav Uspensky has corroborated this portrait of Glazunov, based on what Shostakovich himself told him. Clearly, the passages in *Testimony* are accurate and Shostakovich willingly shared such recollections with others, truthfully, without 'the aspic':

Once, when I was walking Shostakovich back to the house of his sister Maria Dmitriyevna, I heard from him a piquant story (nowadays already known). When D. D. was a student, his father worked at the House of weights and measures and had access to pure alcohol. From time to time he gave his son a bottle with clear liquid for A. K. Glazunov, the then director of the conservatory. Eyewitnesses said that, during the meetings of the conservatory council, Aleksandr Konstantinovich regularly reached for the lower drawer of the huge director's desk and looked for something there. And, while he began the council being absolutely energetic, by the end of the meeting he would become more and more sleepy. It turned out, in the drawer was that very bottle of alcohol with a rubber hose, which Glazunov from time to time suckled.³⁶⁷

h. Dmitry Kabalevsky

Testimony, pp. 145–46, includes a veiled reference to Kabalevsky as one of the 'citizen composers [who] knocked themselves out to avoid the list [of formalists in 1948] and did everything they could to get their comrades on it. They were real criminals [. . .]'. In *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 284, we provided corroboration for Shostakovich's negative view of Kabalevsky.³⁶⁸ Later, Maxim also noted in his reminiscences:

³⁶⁷ Vladislav Uspensky, 'Pis'ma Uchitelya' ('Teacher's Letters'), in Kovnatskaya (ed.), *D. D. Shostakovich*, p. 534.

³⁶⁸ Christer Bouij has pointed out that Volkov's note about Kabalevsky in *Testimony*, p. 146, is not quite accurate. Citing *Volksfeind Dmitri Schostakowitsch: Eine Dokumentation der öffentlichen Angriffe gegen den Komponisten in der ehemaligen Sowjetunion* (Verlag Ernst Kuhn, 1997) and Daniil Zhitomirsky's manuscript *Materialy k moej biografii*, translated into German as *Blindheit als Schutz vor der Wahrheit: Aufzeichnungen eines Beteiligten zu Musik und Musikleben in der ehemaligen Sowjetunion* (Verlag Ernst Kuhn, 1996), he explains:

In January 1948 the first conference about the conditions of Soviet music was held. The original cause for this was Muradeli, but the participators of the conference soon understood that the primary target was Shostakovich. In the concluding speech Zhdanov pointed out the composers who through their work, from the Communist Party's point of view, were responsible for the unwished development of Soviet music: 'the comrades' Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Myaskovsky, Khachaturian, Popov, Kabalevsky and Shebalin

Even now I can still hear Dmitri Kabalevsky's hypocritical voice, addressing my father and saying in a pretence of goodwill: 'Mitya, why rush things? The time for your opera [*Lady Macbeth*] has not yet come'. [. . .]

The committee members and their guests made themselves comfortable in my father's study, and, accompanying himself on the piano, he sang through the whole opera. I was at his side and he asked me to turn the pages of the score for him.

Then the discussion began. Kabalevsky, Khubov and Chulaki literally pounced on Shostakovich. Glikman tried to argue against them but they didn't want to listen to him . . . I looked at those disgusting people and regretted I didn't have the catapult that I once used in Komarovo against my Father's assailants.³⁶⁹

Glikman similarly recalls:

The discussion of *Lady Macbeth* can only be described as shameful. Khubov, Kabalevsky and Chulaki kept referring back all the time to the article 'Muddle instead of Music'. Khubov and Kabalevsky were particularly zealous. They compared sections of the opera with various paragraphs of that insulting article. On top of that, they endlessly reiterated that the article had never been rescinded and was as significant for them as ever — which meant that they were still of the opinion that Shostakovich's music 'hoots, quacks, grunts and gasps for breath'. In particularly inappropriate terms, Kabalevsky then praised certain passages of the opera. In conclusion, he said (as Chairman of the Committee) that

(*Volksfeind Dmitri Schostakowitsch*, p. 89; *Blindheit als Schutz vor der Wahrheit*, page 192 f.). Volkov states in *Testimony* that Kabalevsky tried to change his name with Popov, but Popov was on the list of the damned composers from the very beginning. Elizabeth Wilson is of the same opinion as Volkov on page 208 of *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*.

On page 194 in *Blindheit als Schutz vor der Wahrheit*, Zhitomirsky accounts for what Volkov (and Shostakovich) allude to. When this list was published in February, Kabalevsky's name had been removed and Popov's was still there. Between these events there had been a discussion, which Zhitomirsky attended. He says that he became very disappointed by Kabalevsky's behavior. Before this Zhitomirsky had apprehended Kabalevsky as a man of culture. Zhitomirsky says that Kabalevsky in a pharisaical manner blamed himself that he had not helped Shostakovich and Prokofiev with basic criticism. With venomous questions he then drove other composers to blame themselves. Zhitomirsky particularly found the way Kabalevsky talked about his own teacher Myaskovsky as deeply immoral. When the Decree 'On the Opera "The Great Friendship" by Vano Muradeli' was formulated on 10 February Kabalevsky's name was removed as a reward for his contribution a couple of days earlier.

For additional insights into the events of 1948, cf. Per Skans's 'The 1948 Formalism Campaign' in *The New Shostakovich*, rev. edn., pp. 322–34.

³⁶⁹ Ardov, pp. 108 and 110.

the opera couldn't be staged, as it justified the actions of a murderess and a depraved woman and he was morally shocked by it. I think I spoke convincingly, but all my arguments were beaten down by this article which Kabalevsky and Khubov brandished like a cudgel.³⁷⁰

i. Vladimir Mayakovsky

Simon Karlinsky, in calling attention to one of the recycled passages in *Testimony* in November 1979, noted that 'the section on Mayakovsky is almost identical with Shostakovich's brief memoir of him published in *Mayakovsky as Remembered by His Contemporaries* (Moscow, 1963), except that passages depicting cordial contacts between the poet and the composer have been replaced in *Testimony* by memories of hostility and rudeness'.³⁷¹ Among the latter is the following:

When we were introduced to Mayakovsky at the rehearsal of *The Bedbug*, he offered me two fingers. I'm no fool and I responded with one, and our fingers collided. Mayakovsky was stunned. He was always impolite but here was a nobody, as low as the ground, asserting himself.

I remember that episode very well, and that's why I don't react when people try to convince me that it never happened, according to the old principle of 'it can't be because it couldn't ever be', as the major once said upon seeing a giraffe. How could 'the best, the most talented' be a boor?³⁷²

In fact, Shostakovich appears to have enjoyed telling about this encounter. The same incident is mentioned in Yevgeny Yevtushenko's memoirs, published in 1998:

Shostakovich told me that, when he was working on the music for the 'Bedbug', he met Mayakovsky for the first time. Mayakovsky was then in a bad, nervous mood, because of which he acted very arrogantly and extended two fingers to the young composer. Shostakovich, despite his admiration for the great poet, did not surrender, and extended just one finger in response. Then Mayakovsky chuckled friendly and extended his entire hand. 'You will go far, Shostakovich!' — Mayakovsky turned out to be right.³⁷³

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 261–62, note 30.

³⁷¹ Simon Karlinsky, 'Our Destinies Are Bad', *The Nation*, 24 November 1979, p. 535.

³⁷² *Testimony*, p. 246. The phrase 'the best, the most talented', originally in a note from Stalin to Comrade Yezhov about Mayakovsky, became a cliché in the USSR and was often quoted by Shostakovich in reference to this writer.

³⁷³ Yevgeny Yevtushenko, *Volchii Passport (A Wolf's Passport)*, Vagrius, Moscow, 1998, pp. 443–44.

j. Vsevolod Meyerhold and Zinaida Raikh

In *Testimony*, pp. 77 and 79, Shostakovich comments on Meyerhold and the brutal death of his wife Zinaida Raikh:

I think of Meyerhold too frequently, more frequently than I should, because we are now neighbors of sorts. I often walk or drive past the memorial plaque that depicts a repulsive monster and I shudder. The engraving says: ‘In this house lived Meyerhold’. They should add, ‘And in this house his wife was brutally murdered’. [. . .]

Almost immediately after Meyerhold’s disappearance, bandits came to Raikh’s house. They killed her. Seventeen knife wounds; she was stabbed in the eyes. Raikh screamed for a long time, but none of the neighbors came to her aid. No one dared to go into Meyerhold’s apartment. Who knew what was going on? Maybe Raikh was being battered by the iron fist of an official thug.³⁷⁴

That this topic was fresh on the composer’s mind while working on his memoirs is evident in Glikman’s note for 7 January 1974:

[. . .] Shostakovich was reminiscing about Meyerhold [. . . and he] said: ‘Next month will be the centenary of Vsevolod Meyerhold’s birth, and there is talk of a celebration. What for? Do you think they will mention his arrest, or announce that he was an innocent victim of Stalin’s bloodlust, or refer to the tragedy of his death? Will anything be said about the brutal murder of his wife, Zinaida Raikh? Of course not’.³⁷⁵

k. Andrey Sakharov

Although Irina Shostakovich claims that the composer did not sign the denunciation of Sakharov that appeared with his name on it in *Pravda*, Shostakovich did, in fact, hold a grudge against the inventors of the Soviet hydrogen bomb, as mentioned in *Testimony*, p. 243:

³⁷⁴ While the exact number of knife wounds and what was taken is still in dispute, the gist of Shostakovich’s statement is accurate. Robert Leach, in *Vsevolod Meyerhold*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989, p. 29, writes: ‘Raikh was released, but on 17 July she was found in the Meyerhold flat, with eleven knife wounds, and her throat cut’. Edward Braun, in *Meyerhold on Theatre*, Methuen Drama, London, 1991, p. 252, adds: ‘On the night of 14 July Zinaida Raikh was savagely murdered in their Moscow flat. Of all the property there, only a file of papers was taken. The assailants, described officially as “thugs”, were never caught. Shortly afterwards, the flat was requisitioned by the NKVD, divided up and handed over to Beria’s secretary and his chauffeur and family’. Other sources report that Raikh’s ‘eyes were mutilated’ (Tony Howard, *Women as Hamlet*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007, p. 161) or ‘cut out and [she had] seventeen knife wounds’ (Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror: A Reassessment*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1991, p. 307).

³⁷⁵ *Story of a Friendship*, p. 192.

Some major geniuses and future famous humanists are behaving extremely flippantly, to put it mildly. First they invent a powerful weapon and hand it over to the tyrants and then they write snide brochures. But one doesn't balance the other. There aren't any brochures that could balance the hydrogen bomb.

Galina Shostakovich has now confirmed this attitude of her father, in remarkably similar language:

Sakharov and other scientists who worked in this field [nuclear weapons] had dachas at Zhukovka and I remember Father walking around the village with a visitor and explaining to him: 'This is where such and such an academician lives . . . This is where so and so lives . . . And this is where an absolute genius lives. He's invented a substance that needs only one teaspoon of it to be sprinkled over the planet and it will kill all the creatures on the earth . . . A real genius . . . Now only one problem remains: how to distribute it evenly over the whole of the earth's surface'.³⁷⁶

I. Igor Stravinsky

In comparing the Stravinsky passage in Chapter 2 of *Testimony* with the article published in 1973, Fay notes that the texts diverge after the first page, where the former goes on to question Stravinsky's 'Russianness':³⁷⁷

It's another question as to how Russian a composer Stravinsky is. He was probably right not to return to Russia. His concept of morality is European. I can see that clearly from his memoirs — everything he says about his parents and colleagues is European. This approach is foreign to me.

And Stravinsky's idea of the role of music is also purely European, primarily French. [. . .]

When Stravinsky came to visit us here, he came as a foreigner.³⁷⁸

One wonders if, in fact, the Soviet article had been 'sanitized', as were Shostakovich's reminiscences of Yudina, where the statement in *Testimony*, p. 51, that she was 'strange' became, in the Soviet book on Yudina, p. 41, 'a very kind and pure person' (cf. p. 91 above). Other evidence suggests that Yudina was, indeed, as strange as she is depicted in the memoirs. Similarly, Shostakovich's pointed criticism of Stravinsky in the memoirs is corroborated elsewhere. In *A Shostakovich Casebook*, Lebedinsky observes:

³⁷⁶ Ardov, p. 153.

³⁷⁷ Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 40.

³⁷⁸ *Testimony*, pp. 33–34.

[Shostakovich] did not feel close to Stravinsky as a composer, but this should come as no surprise, of course, given that the two represented such different trends in Russian music. Shostakovich remained a committed realist, whereas Stravinsky kept to the creative stance of a *miriskusnik* — an heir to the *Mir iskusstva*, or World of Art movement, to Sergei Diaghilev's aesthetic and artistic philosophy.³⁷⁹

In a letter to Glikman of 9 September 1971, Shostakovich also mentions reading Stravinsky's memoirs:

I completely agree with your assessment of Stravinsky's *Dialogues*. Some of his opinions can only be excused by assuming he was rambling on without thinking what he was saying, and then signed them without taking much trouble to check exactly what he was putting his name to, merely so as to be left in peace. He is not the only person to whom such things have happened.³⁸⁰

Lest one think that Shostakovich, in the last sentence, is referring to his conversations with Volkov for *Testimony*, the date clearly is too early. His first meeting for work on his own memoirs was in July 1971 and no signing was involved until three years later. Indeed, given this statement, one would think that Shostakovich would have made doubly sure to avoid Stravinsky's mistake, and to read *very* carefully any autobiographical material submitted to him for his signature. Glikman's note accompanying this letter elaborates on Shostakovich's contrasting views of Stravinsky's music and Stravinsky the man, further corroborating what is in *Testimony*:

It so happened that Shostakovich and I were simultaneously reading this fascinating book [Stravinsky's *Dialogues*], stuffed with erudition, wit, toxic sarcasm and biliously misanthropic utterances.

From his earliest years, Shostakovich admired and frequently referred to many of Stravinsky's works, marvelling at their imaginative power. [. . .] But Shostakovich detested Stravinsky's hideous egocentricity, his icy indifference to the fate of defenceless composers, poets and writers who were hunted down, morally destroyed, tortured and dragged through the mud in the years of Stalin's terror. He thought of Prokofiev, Akhmatova, Zoshchenko, himself and many, many others. But Stravinsky looked on with Olympian detachment while all these heartrending tragedies were being played out, and this is why Shostakovich had contempt for him while idolizing him as a musician. In sharp contrast to Stravinsky, those who suffered at the hands of evil men aroused in him the keenest sympathy, and I well remember how moved he was whenever he spoke of prisoners in the camps — whether they were

³⁷⁹ Nikolskaya, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 173.

³⁸⁰ *Story of a Friendship*, p. 181.

people he knew well, not so well, or not at all, things he knew of from letters and from foreign radio broadcasts.³⁸¹

m. Arturo Toscanini

In *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 108–10, we provide ample evidence to support the negative opinions of Toscanini found in *Testimony*. Statements such as the following were once claimed to be out of character for the polite and reserved Shostakovich:

I've read about Toscanini's conducting style and his manner of conducting a rehearsal. I think it's outrageous [. . .]. He screams and curses the musicians and makes scenes in the most shameless manner. [. . .]

Toscanini sent me his recording of my Seventh Symphony and hearing it made me very angry. Everything is wrong. The spirit and the character and the tempos. It's a lousy hack job.³⁸²

Vladislav Uspensky, in recently published recollections of his teacher, corroborates that Shostakovich despised the Italian conductor's recording of his Seventh Symphony as well as his dictatorial treatment of the orchestra. He recalls that the composer, 'literally shaking from anger, characterized Toscanini as an "awful conductor", who reached fame by abusing his musicians with inappropriate words, and then begging their forgiveness on his knees. With respect to the performance of the symphony, he said it was simply outrageous'.³⁸³

n. Maria Yudina

In *Testimony*, pp. 193–94, Shostakovich recounts how a recording of Mozart's Concerto No. 23, played by Yudina, came about:

Once Stalin called the Radio Committee, where the administration was, and asked if they had a record of Mozart's Piano Concerto No. 23, which had been heard on the radio the day before. 'Played by Yudina', he added. They told Stalin that of course they had. Actually, there was no record, the concert had been live. But they were afraid to say no to Stalin, no one ever knew what the consequences might be. A human life meant nothing to him. All you could do was agree, submit, be a yes man, a yes man to a madman.

Stalin demanded that they send the record with Yudina's performance of the Mozart to his dacha. The committee panicked, but they had to do something. They called in Yudina and an orchestra and recorded that night. Everyone was shaking with fright, except for Yudina,

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 316 note 19.

³⁸² *Testimony*, pp. 24–25.

³⁸³ Uspensky, 'Pis'ma Uchitelya' ('Teacher's Letters'), in Kovnatskaya (ed.), *D. D. Shostakovich*, p. 543.

naturally. But she was a special case, that one, the ocean was only knee-deep for her.

Yudina later told me that they had to send the conductor home, he was so scared he couldn't think. They called another conductor, who trembled and got everything mixed up, confusing the orchestra. Only a third conductor was in any shape to finish the recording.

I think this is a unique event in the history of recording — I mean changing conductors three times in one night. Anyway, the recording was ready by morning. They made a single copy and sent it to Stalin. Now, that was a record record. A record in yesing.

Once thought to be apocryphal, this story now is corroborated in large part by the release of just such a recording. In reviewing Dante HPC 121, including Mozart's Concerto No. 23 performed by Yudina and the Moscow Radio Symphony Orchestra under Aleksandr Gauk (matrix number 014983/9, recorded in 1948), David Fanning acknowledges:

The A major Concerto is apparently the recording made at Stalin's behest (as memorably described in *Testimony*). Listening to it in that light it's hard not to experience a certain *frisson*, though the actual playing is again a disconcerting mixture of elevated moments and extended passages of, frankly, dullness.³⁸⁴

Yudina's performance also is heard in Chris Marker's film *One Day in the Life of Andrei Arsenevich*, a one-hour documentary on Andrey Tarkovsky. The credits at the end claim that the recording of the Mozart on the soundtrack came from the 'personal collection of Stalin'.³⁸⁵

In *Testimony*, p. 194, Shostakovich goes on to describe Yudina's remarkably courageous response to Stalin's gratitude afterwards:

Yudina received an envelope with twenty thousand rubles. She was told it came on the express orders of Stalin. Then she wrote him a letter. I know about this letter from her, and I know the story seems improbable; Yudina had many quirks, but I can say this — she never lied. I'm certain her story is true. Yudina wrote something like this in her letter: 'I thank you, Iosif Vissarionovich, for your aid. I will pray for you day and night and ask the Lord to forgive your great sins before the people and the country. The Lord is merciful and He'll forgive you. I gave the money to the church that I attend'.

³⁸⁴ David Fanning, 'Maria Yudina, Volume 1', *International Piano Quarterly*, Spring 1999, pp. 85–86. This recording seems not to have circulated earlier and, thus, is absent from John Bennett's *Melodiya: A Soviet Russian L.P. Discography*, Greenwood Press, Westport, 1981. The same performance also is available on Vista Vera VVCD-00087 ('The Legacy of Maria Yudina, Vol. 11') and Agora AG 1016, and can be heard on the Internet at <<http://www.mariayudina.com/index.cfm>>.

³⁸⁵ Email from John Riley, 11 May 2000.

And Yudina sent this suicidal letter to Stalin. He read it and didn't say a word, they expected at least a twitch of the eyebrow. Naturally, the order to arrest Yudina was prepared and the slightest grimace would have been enough to wipe away the last traces of her. But Stalin was silent and set the letter aside in silence. The anticipated movement of the eyebrows didn't come.

In 2009, the noted writer Daniil Granin confirmed that he, too, was aware of these events and had learned about them directly from Shostakovich:

Once Stalin heard on the radio concerto No. 23 of Mozart performed by Yudina. He liked the concerto and the performance. The radio committee immediately organized its recording. Upon receiving it, Stalin ordered the sending of 20 thousand rubles to Yudina. After several days, he received her answer: 'Thank you for your help. I will pray day and night for you and ask God to forgive you your enormous crimes before the people and the country. God is merciful, He will forgive. I shall give the money to repair the church I attend'. Shostakovich called this letter suicidal. Indeed, the order for the arrest of Yudina was immediately prepared, but something prevented Stalin from signing it.³⁸⁶

o. Harsh Criticism of Other Composers and Performers

Testimony documents the composer's harsh criticisms of many fellow composers and colleagues. Although some have rejected these as being out of character for the composer, his letters show that he could be quite brutal in his assessments. In a letter to Yavorsky he says of Richard Strauss's *Sinfonia Domestica*, 'What kind of garbage this is!'³⁸⁷ Moreover, in a letter to the editorial office of the *Short Soviet Encyclopedia* concerning performers to be included in the music section, he writes equally bluntly of Soviet colleagues:

I doubt whether there is a need to include in the *Encyclopedia* Gilels, Lemeshev, Obukhova, Khanayev, Stepanova, Flier, Shteinberg L. Emil Gilels, without doubt, is one of the outstanding Soviet pianists. But he is very young, and it is impossible to be sure whether he will be able in the future to play and work as well. Lemeshev, Obukhova, Khanayev and Stepanova are good singers, but one could not put them above the average level. Flier in the last years began playing just very badly and cannot be put among performers who are our pride, and Lev Petrovich Shteinberg

³⁸⁶ Daniil Granin, *Prichudy Moyey Pamyati (Whims of My Memory)*, Moscow and St. Petersburg, Tsentrpoligraf, MiM-Del'ta, 2009, p. 337.

³⁸⁷ *Dmitry Shostakovich: v pis'makh i dokumentakh*, p. 33.

during his entire multi-year conducting career not once was able to conduct half-way decent.³⁸⁸

p. Dislike of Western Journalists

In *Testimony*, Shostakovich criticizes ‘the typical Western journalist’, who he says is ‘uneducated, obnoxious, and profoundly cynical’ and asks that I ‘risk my life [. . .] to satisfy the shallow curiosity of a man who doesn’t give a damn about me!’³⁸⁹ Galina Shostakovich, in her reminiscences, corroborates exactly this sentiment:

Shostakovich specially disliked journalists. Not without reason, he considered them rude and uneducated, capable of asking the most tactless and provocative questions.³⁹⁰

She also notes that this was one of the principal reasons why the composer disliked traveling abroad:

First of all because he wasn’t able or at liberty to express his true thoughts and feelings. Also because he knew that persistent and unscrupulous journalists would ask him provocative questions. And lastly, as a world-famous composer, he found it humiliating to be abroad with insufficient money, for like all Russians he was only allowed very little.³⁹¹

2. Shostakovich on Stalin and Politics

a. Ideological Deficiencies

The Shostakovich revealed in *Testimony* is neither the most loyal musical son nor the most committed Party member. In *Dmitry Shostakovich: v pis’makh i dokumentakh*, his ‘ideological deficiencies’ are evident early on in his letters to Boleslav Yavorsky:

³⁸⁸ Letter to Steinpress, 14 April 1944, in *Dmitry Shostakovich: v pis’makh i dokumentakh*, p. 399. Harsh comments about Gauk, K. Ivanov, Lyatoshinsky, Myaskovsky, Stravinsky, and others also may be found in Shostakovich’s *Pis’mo I. I. Sollertinskomu*, pp. 26, 53, 64–65, 68, 99, 122, and 238.

³⁸⁹ *Testimony*, pp. 196–97. Flora Litivnova also has commented on Shostakovich’s criticism of Western humanists — people who closed their eyes to the real situation in the USSR, to the abasement and oppression to which the Soviet creative elite and Soviet people in general were subjected (*cf. Testimony*, p. 200, and Wilson, pp. 271–72). Other notable ‘Soviet’ memoirists who vented similar fury against Western ‘humanists’ include Nadezhda Mandelstam (regarding Louis Aragon) and both Mandelstam and Alexander Solzhenitsyn (regarding Jean-Paul Sartre); *cf. MacDonald, The New Shostakovich*, p. 254; rev. edn., p. 287.

³⁹⁰ Ardov, p. 143. One need only recall Shostakovich’s awkward experience in New York (25–28 March 1949), when he attended the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace (*cf. Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 339 and 395–96). Irina Shostakovich also mentions Shostakovich’s problems with journalists in Sirén, ‘Irina Šostakovič avaa vihdoin kotinsa’, p. C 1.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

[28 August 1926]: Concerning [the first piano sonata's] speed, I am talking not about the tempo of the music (*Allegro molto*), but about its spirit-energy (spiriritual [opium!!!] energy).³⁹²

[11 December 1926]: Today I received a summons from the conservatory, that the post-graduate examination in ~~God's Law~~ marxist methodology will take place December 21 of t[his] y[ear], which put me in despair, because I am almost certain that I will not pass.³⁹³

[6 May 1927]: At present I feel very lousy [after an appendectomy] and wish to die before the 1st of August (the date for submission of my patriotic work) [the Second Symphony]. Don't even ask how it is going along.³⁹⁴

[12 May 1927]: Every day I write 4 pages of the score of the patriotic music [the Second Symphony] and feel an itch — to Paris! to Paris!³⁹⁵

b. Stalin after Victory in World War II

In *Testimony*, Shostakovich states that 'when the war against Hitler was won, Stalin went off the deep end. He was like a frog puffing himself up to the size of the ox [. . .].'³⁹⁶ The composer's fear of what lay ahead is corroborated by his letter of 31 December 1943 (*cf. Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 174–75), filled with irony and Aesopian language, and by Glikman's comments accompanying it:

Shostakovich's detestation of Hitler's fanatical tyranny coexisted with equal loathing for the Stalinist terror of the 1930s. In the later stages of the war, when unbridled paeans of praise for the 'Great General', to whom the army and the whole nation naturally owed all victories, began blaring out with renewed force everywhere, Shostakovich reflected with apprehension on what was likely to happen once the long-awaited victory actually came about. He feared a resurgence of the random terror that had been the reality of life 'under the sun of Stalin's constitution', the canonical phrase which in reality existed only on the pages of the

³⁹² *Dmitry Shostakovich: v pis'makh i dokumentakh*, p. 75. Here the misspelling is in the original. The word 'spiritual' was not encouraged in the 1920s because it was associated with a church-like state of mind, so Shostakovich creates a ridiculous abbreviation, and explains it, misspelling within the parentheses while alluding to Marx's description of religion as an 'opium' for the people.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 90. Here the strike out is in the original and suggests the equivalence of both in Shostakovich's mind. Mishra, pp. 52–53, notes that 'During the exam, Shostakovich was disqualified after he and another student burst into laughter while a third candidate attempted to answer a question on the social and economic differences between Liszt and Chopin. He was allowed to re-sit, and pass, the exam the next day. At his request, the student whose exam he sabotaged was also allowed to re-sit'.

³⁹⁴ *Dmitry Shostakovich: v pis'makh i dokumentakh*, p. 111.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 111. This obviously is not the sentiment of a good Soviet.

³⁹⁶ *Testimony*, p. 140.

newspapers. Hence the bitter irony of the reference to ‘unalloyed joy’ with which he looked forward to a return to pre-war life and times.³⁹⁷

In the film documentary *The War Symphonies: Shostakovich Against Stalin*, Glikman adds:

When the war ended, I was in Moscow. Dmitri Dmitryevich did not come out to the square that day because his joy over the victory was mixed with a feeling of bitterness. He hid this feeling. He told only me about it. He was afraid that on the crest of this victory, Stalin would consolidate his tyranny, consolidate his despotism and his inhumanity.³⁹⁸

c. Fear for Himself and His Family

In several passages in *Testimony*, Shostakovich mentions his fear of ‘disappearing’.³⁹⁹ Maxim recalls that this fear was very real:

The fact is he and all his family were hostages of a criminal and merciless regime, and every word Father uttered was with a look back over his shoulder at his all-powerful tormentors. [. . .]

Unfortunately Shostakovich happened to live not in Nicholas I’s Russia but in Stalin’s Soviet Union. There were times when Father felt he was a hair’s brea[d]th away from destruction.⁴⁰⁰

Maxim’s testimony directly refutes Tikhon Khrennikov’s oft-repeated claim that the danger for Shostakovich has been exaggerated:

Interviewer: They say Shostakovich lived in fear.

Khrennikov: You know what? I think all of this has been terribly exaggerated. Shostakovich was such a cheerful man. Well, maybe he had some fears, I don’t know. But he was a normal man who acted normally

³⁹⁷ *Story of a Friendship*, pp. 23 and 239, note 165.

³⁹⁸ Larry Weinstein, *The War Symphonies: Shostakovich Against Stalin*, Bullfrog Films, Oley, Pennsylvania, 1997 (hereafter Weinstein, *War Symphonies*).

³⁹⁹ Cf. *Testimony*, pp. 122, 183, and 212–13. David Oistrakh described a very similar experience: My wife and I lived through ’37, when night after night every person in Moscow feared arrest. In our building only our apartment and the one facing it on the same floor survived the arrests. All the other tenants had been taken off to God knows where. Every night I expected the worst and set aside some warm underwear and a bit of food for the inevitable moment. You can’t imagine what we went through, listening for the fatal knock on the door or the sound of a car pulling up (Galina Vishnevskaya, *Galina: A Russian Story*, transl. Guy Daniels, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, 1984, pp. 215–16).

⁴⁰⁰ Ardov, pp. 143 and 159. Also cf. this topic in the Index of *Shostakovich Reconsidered*.

to everything that was going on, and there was nothing for him to be afraid of, because everyone saw him as the peak of our culture.⁴⁰¹

To this statement, composer Vladimir Rubin responds: ‘The wolf cannot speak about the fear of the sheep. [. . .] All were afraid. Khrennikov had his fear, Shostakovich his. We were programmed with it, it infiltrated our innermost life’.⁴⁰²

3. Shostakovich’s Works

a. *The Nose* and Berg’s *Wozzeck*

As James Morgan notes in his article ‘Interview with “The Nose”’, ‘since the premiere of *The Nose* in 1930, critics have debated the presence of parallels between it

⁴⁰¹ Weinstein, *War Symphonies*. This view was restated in Marcus Warren’s ‘Soviet Music’s Apparatchik Tikhon Khrennikov was one of Stalin’s Most Powerful and Feared Cultural Commissars, Who Ruled the Careers of Soviet Composers With a Rod of Iron; For the First Time’, *The Sunday Telegraph*, 27 December 1998, p. 8:

Whatever the current state of the violent debate raging over Shostakovich’s real political views, Soviet patriot or crypto-dissident, in Khrennikov’s robust opinion the truth is straightforward: Shostakovich was ‘a normal Soviet man’. The notion that a ‘normal Soviet man’ could say one thing and think something completely different, as many argue Shostakovich was expert at, is dismissed out of hand. Thus, when in 1959 Shostakovich told a press conference in the United States that he believed the Communist Party to be ‘the most progressive force in the world’, he was not trying to wrongfoot the journalists and shelter [himself] from their trick questions. This was not Shostakovich’s irony at work. No, according to Khrennikov, he really meant it. ‘He wrote the music he wanted. He joined the Communist Party of his own free will; no one dragged him in’, he says, warming to the subject. ‘In his lifetime he was treated like a genius. Everyone, us, the Party and the government all treated him like a composer of genius’.

In contrast, *cf.* pp. 36–37 about Shostakovich’s emotional turmoil over joining the Party and pp. 122–25 about the need to decipher his music in proper context.

One can also refute Khrennikov’s oft-repeated claim that no composer was arrested during his tenure (1948–91) as head of the Composers’ Union. Aleksandr Vepruk was arrested on 19 December 1950 and endured both physical and psychological torture during four years in the gulag. Details of his imprisonment are vividly described by his sister, Esfir Vepruk, in *Pamyati brata i druga (To the Memory of My Brother and Friend)* (1960–61; Russian State Archive of Literature and Art [RGALI], Moscow). On 7 February 1953, Mieczysław Weinberg also was arrested, but he was released in June, a few months after Stalin’s death on 5 March. Khrennikov, in an interview with Nemtsov in autumn 2004, acknowledged the imprisonment of these composers immediately after stating, again, that ‘Our union was the only one in which there were no arrests’. On this occasion, he even took credit for their ‘quick’ release; however, it was Shostakovich, according to Vepruk’s and Weinberg’s families, who actively petitioned to have them freed. Still other composers, who had been arrested before 1948, remained imprisoned under Khrennikov’s watch, including Matvey Pavlov-Azancheyev (from 1941–51), Mikhail Nosyrev (from 1943–53), and jazz musician Eddie (Ady) Rosner (from early 1947–May 1954). For excerpts from Esfir Vepruk’s manuscript and additional information on these and other detained composers, *cf.* Jascha Nemtsov, “‘Ich bin schon längst tot’. Komponisten im Gulag: Vsevolod Zaderackij und Aleksandr Vepruk’, *Osteuropa*, 57, June 2007, pp. 314–39.

⁴⁰² Weinstein, *War Symphonies*.

and *Wozzeck*'.⁴⁰³ He then mentions that although Shostakovich saw *Wozzeck* 'all eight or nine times it was given in Leningrad', he denied that Berg's work 'had any direct influence on either of his operas'.⁴⁰⁴ In a footnote, Morgan cites, but does not quote, the following passage in *Testimony*. He also finds it necessary to warn the reader that 'as this denial appears in Shostakovich's disputed memoirs, it should be treated with some skepticism'.⁴⁰⁵

It's said that Berg's *Wozzeck* influenced me greatly, influenced both my operas, and I am so often asked about Berg, particularly since we have met.

It's amazing how lazy some musicologists can be. They write books that could cause a cockroach infestation in their readers' brains. At least, I've never had the occasion to read a good book about myself, and I do read them rather carefully, I think.

When they serve coffee, don't try to find beer in it. Chekhov used to say that. When they listen to *The Nose* or *Katerina Izmailova* they try to find *Wozzeck*, and *Wozzeck* has absolutely nothing to do with them. I liked the opera very much and I never missed a performance when it played in Leningrad, and there were eight or nine performances before *Wozzeck* was removed from the repertory. The pretext was the same one they used with my *Nose* — that it was too hard for the singers to stay in condition and they needed too many rehearsals to make it worthwhile; and the masses weren't exactly beating down the doors.⁴⁰⁶

Whether or not one agrees with Shostakovich's statement in the memoirs, the latter is entirely consistent with what the composer told G. Fedorov during exactly the same time (the early 1970s, when *The Nose* was being revived) in an article published only in 1976 (i.e., after the *Testimony* manuscript was complete and already in the West):

In conversation, D. D. Shostakovich confirmed that *The Nose*'s connection with *Wozzeck* is exaggerated. I will hardly err if I say that such a 'confirmation' can be understood as a full rejection by the composer of a connection between *The Nose* and A. Berg's opera.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰³ James Morgan, 'Interview with "The Nose"', in Wachtel (ed.), *Intersections and Transpositions: Russian Music, Literature, and Society*, p. 119 (hereafter Morgan).

⁴⁰⁴ Morgan, p. 119.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 134, note 31. This caveat echoes Fay's in 'The Punch in Shostakovich's *Nose*', Malcolm H. Brown (ed.), *Russian and Soviet Music: Essay for Boris Schwarz*, UMI Research Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1984, p. 240, note 7: 'In light of . . . the dubious authenticity of *Testimony*, Shostakovich's belated claim must be treated with scepticism'.

⁴⁰⁶ *Testimony*, pp. 42–43.

⁴⁰⁷ G. Fedorov, 'U poroga teatra Shostakovicha', *Teatr*, October 1976, p. 26; translation in the text by Morgan, p. 119.

b. Ninth Symphony

In *Testimony*, Shostakovich admits his inability to glorify the leader in his Ninth Symphony:

they demanded that Shostakovich use *quadruple winds*, choir, and soloists to hail the leader. All the more because Stalin found the number auspicious: the Ninth Symphony. [. . .]

I confess that I gave hope to the leader and teacher's dreams. I announced that I was writing an apotheosis. [. . .]

[But] I couldn't write an apotheosis to Stalin, I simply couldn't.⁴⁰⁸

This passage is consistent with what the composer told David Rabinovich privately in 1944: that he 'wanted to use (in the Ninth) not only the orchestra, but also a chorus as well as soloists'; however, 'he was handicapped by the absence of a suitable text' and 'feared he would be suspected of wanting to evoke "certain analogies" (with Beethoven's Ninth)'.⁴⁰⁹ Shostakovich eventually wrote a more light-hearted work, intended to deflate the ego of Stalin, who after 'the war with Hitler was won [. . .] went off the deep end [. . . and] was like the frog puffing himself up to the size of an ox'.⁴¹⁰ Glikman's note to Shostakovich's letter of 2 January 1945 elaborates on the composer's quick change of direction:

During the 1944–5 holiday period, Shostakovich was mentally at work on the Ninth Symphony. As was usual with him, it was composed in his mind before the task began of fixing the mature opus on paper. In this sense, he was in fact working at this time.

At the end of April 1945 [. . .] one evening he decided to show me some sketches of the first movement, magnificent in its sweep, its pathos and its irresistible movement. He played me about ten minutes of it, and then announced that there was much in the symphony with which he was not happy, in particular its number in the canon, which might suggest to many people an inevitable but misleading comparison with Beethoven's Ninth.

[. . .] sometime later [he] abandoned work on the symphony. I cannot say why he did so, as I never questioned him about it, but on 25 September 1945 I was present at the Union of Composers in Leningrad when he played through a completely different Ninth Symphony, the one we know today.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁸ *Testimony*, pp. 140–41; emphasis added.

⁴⁰⁹ *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 462, Genrikh Orlov, *Simfonii Shostakovicha (Shostakovich's Symphonies)*, Gosudarstvennoye Muzykal'noye Izdatel'stvo, Leningrad, 1961, p. 221, and D. Rabinovich, *D. Shostakovich*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959, p. 96.

⁴¹⁰ *Testimony*, p. 140.

⁴¹¹ *Story of a Friendship*, pp. 241–42, note 184.

At the end of 2003, Ol'ga Digonskaya discovered, in the Shostakovich Archive in Moscow, 322 measures of an unknown orchestral work folded in the autograph piano score of Shostakovich's opera *The Gamblers*. She later was able to relate these 24 pages to three others in the Glinka Museum of Musical Culture dated 15 January 1945 and to identify this as the beginning of the first (aborted) version of the Ninth Symphony, totally different in style and instrumentation from the familiar score.⁴¹² Digonskaya discusses in detail the evidence supporting her conclusion, including descriptions of this earlier Ninth Symphony by Rabinovich, Yevgeny Makarov, and Isaak Glikman. Significantly, none of her sources mention the peculiar instrumentation involved: "2 Piccoli, 2 Flauti, 3 Oboi, Corno inglese (F), Clarinetto piccolo (Es), 3 Clarinetti (B), Clarinetto basso (B), 3 Fagotti, Contrafagotto / 4 Corni (F), 4 Trombe (B), 4 Tromboni, 2 Tube / Timpani, Tamburo, Piatti / Silofono / Violini I, Violini II, Viole, Violoncelli, Contrabassi".⁴¹³ In her 'Comments' to the published score, Digonskaya points out that the orchestra has 'an unprecedented number of instruments, not heretofore seen in Shostakovich's creative work'. However, she completely ignores that *Testimony*, p. 140 (quoted above), mentioned the call for quadruple winds in this aborted Ninth Symphony thirty years before the manuscript was even discovered. Quadruple winds are highly unusual in a Shostakovich symphony, found elsewhere only in his Fourth. Did Volkov guess about this, too?

c. Eleventh Symphony

In *Testimony*, Shostakovich states 'I wrote it [the Eleventh Symphony] in 1957 and it deals with contemporary themes even though it's called "1905"'.⁴¹⁴ This linking of past and present is also evident in other works by Shostakovich, including *Satires*, the *Suite on Verses of Michelangelo Buonarroti*, and *Ten Poems on Texts by Revolutionary*

⁴¹² Ol'ga Digonskaya, preface to *Dmitri Shostakovich: Symphony Fragment of 1945*, DSCH Publishers, Moscow, 2008, pp. 9–10 (hereafter Digonskaya); also 'Symphonic Movement (1945, unfinished)', liner notes to Naxos CD 8.572138, 2009. The Symphony Fragment was first performed on 20 November 2006 by Gennady Rozhdestvensky and the Russian State Academic Symphonic Cappella, Tchaikovsky Concert Hall, Moscow, and recorded on 21 September 2008 by Mark Fitz-Gerald and the Polish National Radio Symphony Orchestra. Louis Blois, in a review of the latter in *DSCH Journal*, 30, January 2009, p. 72, writes:

Not only does the tone of the music stand in grim contrast to the grinningly mischievous 9th that we know, it defies some of Shostakovich's most tried conventions. In place of a firmly declared main theme, which usually is stated at the outset of a Shostakovich opening movement, we find a stormy sequence of short repetitive vamps that keep circling round and round each other, as if hopelessly trapped in some hellish storm. The music churns, the vamps at one point becoming accompaniment figures to a second idea screaming in the high winds and later appearing as urgent exhortations in the brass. / The listener may wonder how a symphony that begins in such a heightened state of agitation could have possibly advanced.

⁴¹³ Digonskaya, p. 14.

⁴¹⁴ *Testimony*, p. 8.

Poets.⁴¹⁵ The notion that the Symphony is only about 1905 is questionable for various reasons. First, Glikman, in a note to Shostakovich's letter of 31 March 1957 writes:

Shostakovich attached great importance to his plans for the Eleventh Symphony. He felt that its programme was timely and to the point. He came to Leningrad on 10 January and told me he had begun work on a symphony with the theme of 1905, and significantly added (verbatim): 'No, it won't be anything like *The Song of the Forests!*'⁴¹⁶

Clearly, this was not intended to be a propagandistic, socialist-realist work, such as the latter.⁴¹⁷ Equally as clear, the 'timeliness' of the work suggests the Hungarian Uprising in 1956, since the Eleventh Symphony was already two years late for the anniversary of the Year 1905.⁴¹⁸

Even though Fay claims that 'available evidence does not corroborate [. . .] that delivering a personal commentary on the events in Hungary was the motivating impulse behind the composition of the Eleventh Symphony',⁴¹⁹ she is contradicted by Irina Shostakovich and others:

⁴¹⁵ Cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 171. Irina Shostakovich has stated that 'in the *Michelangelo Verses* there is a parallel between Dante's expulsion from Italy and Solzhenitsyn's exile from the Soviet Union' ('More Thoughts from Irina Shostakovich', *DSCH Journal*, 12, January 2000, p. 72), and Mishra, p. 193, has commented on the 'slightly seditious' use of revolutionary texts in the last work, concluding that 'Drawing on a previous era in Russian history, Shostakovich would rely on his audience to draw the appropriate latter-day references'.

⁴¹⁶ *Story of a Friendship*, p. 263, note 44. Basing her information on Glikman, Olga Fyodorova adds:

In November the country was celebrating the 40th anniversary of the October revolution and Dmitry Shostakovich had decided to make his new symphony, already his Eleventh, to coincide with the momentous event. Shostakovich said his new work would go back to the days of the first Russian revolution of 1905 which was set off by the bloody massacre of a peaceful rally gathered on St Petersburg's Palace Square. . .

There was more to Shostakovich's new symphony than just met the eye, though. In a letter to a very close friend, the composer wrote that with his music he was 'consigning to perdition the bloodsucking butchers of the distant and not so distant past' — a clear reference to Stalin's henchmen who had caused such an irreparable damage to Russian culture . . . ('Russian Musical Highlights of the 20th Century: 1957', on the 'Voice of Russia' website <<http://www.vor.ru/century/1957m.html>>).

⁴¹⁷ For valuable new insights on *The Song of the Forests*, cf. Vladimir Zak, 'Muradeli on "The One Who Doesn't Like Me"', *DSCH Journal*, 13, July 2000, pp. 6–10.

⁴¹⁸ Yevgeny Chukovsky, Shostakovich's son-in-law, 'recalled that originally the title sheet of the Eleventh Symphony read "1906", that is the year of the composer's birth. This allows us to hear the symphony differently: as a monument and requiem for himself and his generation' (Volkov, p. 38).

⁴¹⁹ Fay, p. 202. In her notes for a performance of the Eleventh by the New York Philharmonic, 1985/99, p. 47, Fay further writes: 'Although it has lately become fashionable to attribute a "hidden" agenda to Shostakovich in composing this symphony — specifically as a vehicle to register his protest of the Soviet invasion of Hungary in the autumn of 1956 — the fact that he had begun publicly announcing the theme of his symphony at least a year before the Hungarian crisis is just one of the circumstances arguing against an expressly subversive interpretation'. This reveals her black-and-white reasoning: that if Shostakovich began thinking about writing about 1905 a year earlier, he couldn't possibly have changed his focus to include more contemporary events. Moreover, Taruskin claims that 'whenever asked [if the symphony

The symphony [No. 11] was written in 1957 at the time when these events occurred [the Hungarian uprising]. What happened was viewed with great gravity by everyone. There are no direct references to the 1956 events in the symphony, but Shostakovich had them in mind.⁴²⁰

Choreographer Igor' Belsky, who produced a ballet on the music of the Eleventh Symphony, further recalls Shostakovich telling him 'Don't forget that I wrote that symphony in the aftermath of the Hungarian Uprising', and Manashir Yakubov, too, confirms that 'from its very earliest performances, [some] viewed the symphony as an allegorical reflection of contemporary bloody events in Hungary (1956), where the Soviet Union had acted as "policeman of Europe" and executioner of a democratic movement'.⁴²¹

The need to 'decipher' Shostakovich's music has been acknowledged by the composer's contemporaries as well as by leading Russian performers and scholars. In an interview with Graham Sheffield, Rudolf Barshai stated:

The music of Shostakovich needs a lot of explanation. Sometimes [verbal explanation]. You should bear in mind a very important point. Shostakovich in his music almost always reflected political and public affairs in his country. His music is very 'psychological'. I think that historians in some future time will have quite rich material to study relating to the Stalin era from Shostakovich's music because he used to reflect any event of some public importance in the Soviet Union in one way or another.⁴²²

Margarita Mazo also notes that 'Those of us who were "in the know" were always searching for the second layer of meaning in Shostakovich's works'⁴²³ and Marina

depicted the Hungarian Uprising], the composer denied it' (e.g., *On Russian Music*, pp. 323 and 353). As is his wont, he provides no basis for this blanket statement.

⁴²⁰ 'More Thoughts from Irina Shostakovich', *DSCH Journal*, 12, January 2000, p. 72.

⁴²¹ Wilson, p. 320 and Yakubov, p. 57. For example, Lebedinsky stated that 'what we heard in this music was not the police firing on the crowd in front of the Winter Palace in 1905, but the Soviet tanks roaring in the streets of Budapest. This was so clear to those "who had ears to listen". . .' (Wilson, p. 317). Indeed, when an elderly woman remarked 'Those aren't guns firing, those are tanks roaring and squashing people', the composer was pleased: 'That means she heard it, and yet the musicians don't' (Volkov, p. 40). Also cf. Orlov's comments, pp. 123–24 and 219–20, and MacDonald's discussion of the 'tremendous significance [of the Hungarian Uprising] for the community of *intelligenty* of which Shostakovich was a member. [. . .] when on 25 October 1956 the Hungarian secret police machine-gunned a peacefully demonstrating crowd in Budapest's Parliament Square, killing 600, the analogy with the 1,200 dead of Palace Square in 1905 was flatly unavoidable' (*The New Shostakovich*, rev. edn., pp. 236–37).

⁴²² Rudolf Barshai, 'Barshai on Shostakovich', *DSCH Newsletter*, 5, 1988, p. 8.

⁴²³ *DSCH Journal*, 12, January 2000, p. 72. On Bavarian TV (4 October 2006), Yakubov added that 'there were always subtexts in his [Shostakovich's] music. Westerners don't understand the situation in dictatorial states. Everything that was said, written or else presented in a dictatorship had not only two layers of different meanings, but three, four, five or even ten' (summarized by Per Skans, *DSCH Journal*, 26, January 2007, p. 67).

Sabinina adds: ‘Foreigners are simply not in a position to identify with all the dramatic events through which we as a people have lived, so they tend to interpret Shostakovich’s music as “pure” music, isolated from its social-historical context’.⁴²⁴ Henry Orlov, too, comments extensively on this in *A Shostakovich Casebook*. He states that ‘Shostakovich himself declared the rationalized basis of his creative approach: “With me, a *programmatic concept always precedes composition*”. These words can be taken as truthful, even if they were written in 1951, when all “pure” music was considered “formalistic”. He never put his programs to words, except for occasional suggestive titles, but *an undisclosed program was always present [. . .]*’.⁴²⁵ Orlov goes on to say that ‘It is impossible to appreciate Shostakovich’s music without having the “key” to it; one must know a great deal about the circumstances of its composition and know how to decipher its secret meaning’.⁴²⁶ Regarding hidden messages in works such as the Eleventh Symphony, he elaborates as follows:

It is needless to repeat the well-known truisms about Shostakovich’s power and magnitude as a musician. And yet to live in and by music, to treat it only as a natural language of sound, pregnant with unfathomable resources of beauty and harmony, was not his primary goal: beauty, harmony, and originality had become the properties of cryptic messages, a source of aesthetic satisfaction even for those unaware of his ‘notes in a bottle’. Thus many of his admirers in the West, who were captivated by the richness and force of Shostakovich’s discourse, failed to understand that what they heard was passionate *speech*. Even in Russia these qualities played a dual role, allowing Shostakovich to utter forbidden truths while at the same time providing others with an opportunity to perceive those heart-rending confessions and agonized thoughts as pure music. Many high-ranking listeners pretended to be uncomprehending aesthetes.

The composer skillfully facilitated this mutually convenient myopia. He always found an acceptable pretext, suggesting the possibility of loyal interpretation. Otherwise, *how could he have responded to the Soviet reprisal in 1956 against the Hungarian rebels, with its roaring tanks and thundering guns, except through the songs of prerevolutionary Russian rebels and prisoners, the image of a country in chains?* And what

⁴²⁴ Nikolskaya, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 158.

⁴²⁵ Orlov, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 204; emphasis added.

⁴²⁶ Nikolskaya, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 123. For example, about the Largo of the Fifth Symphony, Israel Nestyev states in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 160:

I now perceive [it] to be a requiem for the millions of innocent victims of the Stalinist regime. Let me remind you that this symphony appeared in 1937 at the height of the ‘Ezhov terror,’ when, at Stalin’s behest, masses of blameless people were executed, including some of Shostakovich’s closest friends. He suffered deeply. In those years, no other artist, whatever the field — no painter, playwright, or film director — could even think of protesting against the Stalinist terror through his art. Only instrumental music, with its own distinctive methods of expressive generalization, had the power to communicate the terrible truth of that time.

if he had not entitled his Eleventh Symphony ‘The Year 1905’ and timed its appearance to the fortieth anniversary of the Soviet Union? Shostakovich excelled in making gestures of reassurance to the prison guards while surreptitiously releasing his true thoughts to the world outside.⁴²⁷

Orlov’s comments call to mind Volkov’s concept of Shostakovich as a *yurodivy*: one who ‘has the gift to see and hear what others know nothing about[, but . . .] tells the world about his insights in an intentionally paradoxical way, in code’, in order to survive.⁴²⁸ This remains the only viable overall paradigm of Shostakovich’s complex relationship with the Soviet state in general and with Stalin in particular.

In striking contrast, Taruskin has repeatedly criticized Shostakovich’s friends and contemporaries who have attempted to put the composer’s music and words into proper perspective. In reviewing Glikman’s collection of letters from Shostakovich, Taruskin complains about

⁴²⁷ Orlov, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 194; emphasis added. Here, in 1976, Orlov utilizes several phrases later found in *Shostakovich Reconsidered* and even expresses a similar view. In his preface to the first Russian edition of Volkov’s *Shostakovich and Stalin*, Eksmo, Moscow, 2004, pp. 9–10, Vladimir Spivakov places still another work into its proper historical context:

I remember the day they told us of Stalin’s death very well. The entire school was in tears, and I too came home in tears. But suddenly my mother said, ‘Thank God, perhaps we will see our uncle soon’.

I remembered this when I spoke about the finale of the First Violin Concerto with Viktor Liberman, the concertmaster of Mravinsky’s orchestra. This celebratory, cheerful movement was marked by the author as a ‘Burlesque’. Shostakovich told Liberman that the celebration in this music is the celebration of a man who was released from the concentration camp. Knowing this, you would play this finale quite differently. The story told me by Viktor Liberman reminded me of the time of Bach, when the oral tradition of commentary about music was very important. This oral tradition has a rebirth now, in large part due to Volkov’s book, albeit in a different historical context. It allows us to ascertain the hidden meaning of Shostakovich’s works. (For another translation, cf. ‘Interpreters on Shostakovich: The Voice of All Voiceless’, *DSCJ Journal*, 24, January 2006, p. 8).

⁴²⁸ Presented first in the Introduction to *Testimony*, pp. xxv–xxix, and in his essay ‘On the Inevitable Meeting: Shostakovich and Dostoyevsky (*Rossiya/Russia: studi e ricerche*, iv, 1980), pp. 199–222, Volkov has now elaborated on and refined this concept in *Shostakovich and Stalin*, pp. xi–xii:

[. . .] in all probability Shostakovich was influenced not by a real-life *yurodivy*, but followed the fictional model first presented by Alexander Pushkin in his tragedy *Boris Godunov* (1824) and then magnified in the opera of the same title (after Pushkin) by Modest Mussorgsky (1869–1872). [. . .] both Pushkin and Mussorgsky treated the character of the *yurodivy* in their work as the thinly disguised, largely autobiographical embodiment of the figure of the artist, who — in the name of the downtrodden people — speaks dangerous but necessary truths to the face of the tsar. This was the role that Shostakovich assumed as his life model, which also included two other fictional ‘masks’ from *Boris Godunov*: those of the Chronicler and the Pretender. In adopting, as they suited him, all three masks and juggling them for many years, Shostakovich placed himself as a true successor to Pushkin’s and Mussorgsky’s Russian tradition of artistic dialogue and confrontation with the tsar.

the frequency with which the editor (one of the composer's closest friends) intervenes to explain that Shostakovich, you see, was making a joke. [. . .]

Did we really need to be told? Did Glikman really think we did? [. . .]

[T]he problem of irony can cut the other way, too. People can be schooled and then overschooled in irony, as the boy who cried wolf found out some time ago. So just as often Glikman felt called upon to step in and explain that Shostakovich, you see, was not making a joke.⁴²⁹

Unlike Taruskin, who finds Glikman's commentary unnecessary and even an insult to his own intelligence, we welcome whatever those close to the composer have to say. We understand that Glikman's explanations were not intended for Richard Taruskin's superior mind, but for readers in other countries and in future generations who may not understand the society and time in which Shostakovich lived. Svetlana Savenko makes a similar point in *Shostakovich in Context*:

The ambiguous and parodic meaning of passages like these is unfailingly decoded in the footnotes to the published edition of the letters [to Glikman], which at first can seem somewhat excessive and inappropriate. On reflection, however, it has to be admitted that the footnotes might be completely necessary for future generations.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁹ Taruskin, 'Shostakovich and Us', in Bartlett (ed.), *Shostakovich in Context*, pp. 1–3.

⁴³⁰ Svetlana Savenko, 'Shostakovich's Literary Style', *ibid.*, p. 46. Shostakovich's *Pis'ma Sollertinskomu* also must be read with an awareness of his humor and sarcasm: 'Dear Ivan Ivanovich, I cannot describe how you pleased me with your letter. As you know, I am an old formalist, and, in your letter, I mostly liked the form, and not the content' (pp. 74–75); 'I congratulate you with the third-year anniversary of the historic decree of the Central Committee regarding the reorganization of literary and artistic organizations' (p. 162); and, finally,

Today I had an unbelievable privilege to attend the concluding meeting of the congress of stakhanovites. In the presidium I saw comrade Stalin, comrades Molotov, Kaganovich, Voroshilov, Ordzhonikidze, Kalinin, Kossior, Mikoyan, Postyshev, Chubar', Andreyev and Zhdanov. Heard speeches by comrades Stalin, Voroshilov and Shvernik. I was captivated by the speech of Voroshilov, but after hearing Stalin I completely lost any sense of propriety and yelled with the entire hall, 'hurray!' and applauded without stopping. His historic speech you will read in the newspapers, so I will not retell it here.

Of course, this day is the happiest day of my life: I saw and heard Stalin (p. 178).

As another example of his sarcasm, consider his letter to Vladislav Uspensky about his Thirteenth Symphony, 'Babi Yar': 'I knew that one could not do it about the Jews, but today, you see, you can do it about the Jews — you can't do it about the stores, can't do it about the stores!' [a reference to the third movement, 'In the Store']. Of course, the main point of controversy *was* the Jewish theme, but he humorously places the blame elsewhere: 'now it's the stores I cannot write about, the stores!' ('Pis'ma Uchitelya' ('Teacher's Letters'), in Kovnatskaya (ed.), *D. D. Shostakovich*, p. 519).

d. Eighth Quartet

As noted in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 160–64, Shostakovich first publicly acknowledged the Eighth Quartet’s autobiographical nature in *Testimony*, p. 156. That the composer dedicated the work to himself, as a victim of fascism and war, has now been corroborated not only by the composer’s letter to Glikman of 19 July 1960,⁴³¹ but by his children. In discussing the work with Ardov, Galina notes:

It was played soon afterwards and had a great success, but immediately pressure was put on the composer to change the dedication. Father was obliged to concede and the work was dedicated to the victims of fascism. The quartet is still played with this bogus dedication even now, and this is just another proof of how indifferent Shostakovich’s music colleagues are to his tragic fate.

[. . .] I can still hear him saying: ‘I dedicated this work to my own memory’. You don’t hear such a thing very often, especially coming from such a reserved person as Father was. I am convinced the original dedication should be restored.⁴³²

Finally, Orlov again emerges as the most perceptive contributor to *A Shostakovich Casebook*. In an article originally published in 1976, he anticipates much of what *Testimony* and others would later say about this work:

the Eighth Quartet (1960) amounts to a musical autobiography of sorts, using direct and indirect quotations — from the First Symphony and *Lady Macbeth*, through the Second Piano Trio and the Eighth Symphony, to the Cello Concerto, the Eleventh Symphony (Mov. 3, ‘Eternal Memory’ [*Vechnaia pamiat*’], quoting the melodies of old revolutionary songs, ‘You fell a victim’ [*Vy zhertvoiu pali*] and ‘Tormented by grievous bondage’ [*Zamuchen tiazhioloi nevolei*]). The composer thus revisits the milestones of his life and, in the end, arrives at a mournful conclusion.⁴³³

⁴³¹ Also reproduced in Ardov, pp. 160–61. Unable here to dismiss the composer’s intended meaning, Taruskin finds it necessary instead to criticize the work’s explicitness:

The Eighth Quartet is a wrenching human document. [. . .] But its explicitness exacts a price. The quotations are lengthy and literal, amounting in the crucial fourth movement to an inert melody; the thematic transformations are very demonstratively, perhaps over-demonstratively, elaborated; startling juxtapositions are reiterated till they become familiar. The work provides its own running paraphrase, and the paraphrase moves inevitably into the foreground of consciousness as the note patterns become predictable (Taruskin, ‘Shostakovich and Us’, Bartlett (ed.), *Shostakovich in Context*, p. 27).

⁴³² Ardov, pp. 158–59.

⁴³³ Orlov, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 211.

4. Other Topics⁴³⁴

a. Astounding Memory

Shostakovich's phenomenal recall not only of music, but of literary texts made possible his verbatim and near-verbatim recycling of earlier passages in *Testimony*, as discussed in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 190–93. Additional evidence continues to emerge. Boris Dobrokhotov recalls:

He had a phenomenal aural memory, which allowed him to remember every note he heard for the entire life, like an LP record. I remember, in our conversations I referred to the most obscure works, for example, the transition theme from the third quartet of Alyabiev, his waltz, unknown works of Rimsky-Korsakov, and he immediately played on the piano the appropriate fragment. He himself told me that, in his childhood, having heard some music, he immediately memorized it in all details and was capable of reproducing it later absolutely exactly.⁴³⁵

Glikman, in his preface to *Story of a Friendship*, also notes: 'But what was extraordinary was the truly phenomenal memory which allowed him to recall [many years later] both form and content of these letters, received when he was little more than a youth'. He goes on to say: 'Shostakovich's memory never failed to astound me. He had remembered something I told him over twenty years before, about being at a birthday party for Simkin at which guests gulped down toast after toast to "the great leader and teacher Comrade Stalin"'.⁴³⁶

b. Sugar-coated Frogs

In *Testimony*, Shostakovich states:

I know that many will not agree with me and will point out other, more noble aims of art. They'll talk about beauty, grace, and other high qualities. But you won't catch me with that bait. I'm like Sobakevich in

⁴³⁴ Maxim and Galina's reminiscences also corroborate many other details in *Testimony* and *Shostakovich Reconsidered* [SR], including the temporary loss of the manuscript of the Seventh Symphony during the evacuation from Leningrad (Ardov, p. 19; SR, p. 461); Shostakovich's meager comments to performers: 'louder, softer, slower, faster' (Ardov, p. 35; SR, p. 389); his sympathetic view of German soldiers (Ardov, p. 38; SR, p. 417); his process of composing in his head (Ardov, p. 52; SR, pp. 151–52); his NKVD interview about Tukhachevsky, where Maxim recalls Basner identifying the interrogator not as Zakovsky or Zakrevsky or Zanchevsky, but with still another name, 'prosecutor N' (Ardov, pp. 66–67; SR, pp. 182–83); Stalin's call about attending the World Peace Conference in New York (Ardov, pp. 70–72; SR, pp. 231, 394, 434); and his love of all music, 'from Bach to Offenbach' (Ardov, p. 154; SR, p. 94).

⁴³⁵ *Dmitry Shostakovich: v pis'makh i dokumentakh*, pp. 520–21.

⁴³⁶ *Story of a Friendship*, pp. xix–xx and 302, note 62.

Gogol's *Dead Souls*: you can sugar-coat a frog, and I still won't put it in my mouth.⁴³⁷

Shostakovich's familiarity with this story and his fondness for this particular passage have now been corroborated elsewhere. Flora Litvinova recalls that in 1941, during evacuation from Kuibyshev, 'I was lamenting the fact that I didn't bring Gogol's *Dead Souls* with me; Dmitri Dmitrievich immediately starting quoting long extracts from it [. . .].'⁴³⁸ Moreover, in an article in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, 21 December 1965, Shostakovich mentions the very same passage, albeit in a different context:

Of course even an excellent performer cannot make a bad work sound good. As Sobakevich, in *Dead Souls*, said: 'Even if you covered a frog with sugar, I wouldn't put it in my mouth . . .' Similarly, even if Richter were to play a rotten work, it wouldn't be any the better for it.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁷ *Testimony*, pp. 120–21.

⁴³⁸ Wilson, p. 166. Galina Shostakovich also told Oksana Dvornichenko that her father 'often used to quote from "Dead Souls". When we started to study it at school, he said that we ought to learn it by heart, that one should know it all . . .' (*DSCH DVD-ROM*, under the year '1952').

⁴³⁹ Grigor'yev and Platek, pp. 265–66.

V. Fifteen Alleged Errors in *Testimony*

‘Myth, the higher truth, will beat facts any day in the world of spin.
In the world of scholarship, however, the lowly facts are precious
and the endless unglamorous winnowing process goes on.
Eventually, as the history of Shostakovich’s homeland attests, lies give way’.
(Richard Taruskin, ‘Shostakovich on Top’,
Times Literary Supplement, 20 May 2005, Letters sec., p. 15)

Since its publication in 1979, critics of the memoirs have claimed that it not only distorts the character and views of Shostakovich, but includes numerous errors, contradictions, and the like. We addressed this issue in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, demonstrating that so-called ‘errors’ (such as the composer’s comments about Prokofiev and Toscanini, or his intended meanings in works such as the Eighth Quartet and Fifth Symphony), in fact, accurately reflect the composer’s thoughts late in life when *Testimony* was written. Since *Shostakovich Reconsidered* was published, additional allegations of errors have surfaced. We have investigated these specific claims and, again, find *Testimony* to be correct, even in small details. For this reason, we provide fifteen additional examples of how *Testimony*’s alleged errors are refuted by other evidence.

1. Nos. 1–7: Errors Cited by Henry Orlov

In *A Shostakovich Casebook*, Malcolm Brown reproduces Henry Orlov’s reader’s report for Harper and Row of 28 August 1979, in which he mentions seven specific passages as examples of mistakes or misquotations in *Testimony*. Orlov writes:

Here and there, one shrugs at misquotations** or factual mistakes***. We shall perhaps never know whether those and other blunders affecting both the content and style result from errors of the composer’s memory and slips of the tongue o[r] from Mr. Volkov’s slips of the pen and literary faults.⁴⁴⁰

In investigating these ‘misquotations’ and ‘factual mistakes’ identified by a bonafide Shostakovich scholar, we discovered that every one turns out to be not incorrect but right on the mark. While Orlov might be excused for his own ‘blunders’, given the haste with which he had to complete his report, it is utterly inexcusable that Brown would reproduce this historic document twenty-five years later without checking the facts. Unfortunately, this is typical of the critics of *Testimony*, who seek not the truth, but to cast aspersions on Volkov and the Shostakovich memoirs. Orlov’s examples are discussed below.

⁴⁴⁰ Facsimile in Orlov, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 115. Asterisks refer to five specific errors cited at the bottom of this page of his report.

a. Shakespeare's *Hamlet*

Orlov claims that typescript page 115 misquotes from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*:⁴⁴¹ 'I'm particularly touched by Hamlet's conversation with Rosenkrantz and Guildenstern, when Hamlet says that he's not a pipe and he won't let people play him'. If true, this would be a particularly glaring error, because Shostakovich states immediately before that, 'I "went through" *Hamlet* three times from a professional standpoint, but I read it many more times than that, many more. I read it now'.⁴⁴²

One need only examine Act 3, Scene 2 to see that there is no misquotation in *Testimony* (emphasis added):

Hamlet to Rosenkrantz and Guildenstern:

Why, look you now, how unworthy a thing you make of me! You would play upon me; you would seem to know my stops; you would pluck out the heart of my mystery; you would sound me from my lowest note to the top of my compass; and there is much music, excellent voice, in this little organ; yet cannot you make it speak. 'Sblood, do you think I am easier to be played on than a pipe? Call me what instrument you will, though you can fret me, yet you cannot play upon me.

b. The Fifth Symphony and Aleksandr Fadeyev's Diary

Orlov claims that typescript page 258 misquotes from Aleksandr Fadeyev's diary regarding the finale of the Fifth Symphony:⁴⁴³ 'Fadeyev heard it, and he wrote in his diary, for his personal use, that the finale of the Fifth is irreparable tragedy'.⁴⁴⁴

In *Za tridtsat' let*, Fadeyev writes that 'The ending does not sound like a resolution (still less like a triumph or victory), but rather like a punishment or vengeance on someone. A terrible emotional force, but a tragic force. It arouses painful feelings'.⁴⁴⁵ Clearly, Fadeyev did not find the finale triumphant or victorious, but the opposite, which Shostakovich might well have characterized as 'irreparable tragedy'.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁴⁴² *Testimony*, p. 84. Shostakovich set the play for a production by Nikolay Akimov (Vakhtangov Theater, 1931–32) and for both a staging (Pushkin Theater, 1954) and a film (1963–64) by Grigory Kozintsev. It is unlikely that Shostakovich would have misremembered this passage because it is the infamous one in which, in Akimov's staging, Hamlet holds a flute to his rear and a piccolo, double bass, and drum in the orchestra 'fart-out' Aleksandr Davidenko's mass song 'They Wanted to Beat Us, Beat Us' (Yury Yelagin, quoted in Wilson, p. 82). Gerard McBurney in 'Shostakovich and the Theatre', *Cambridge Companion to Shostakovich*, p. 168, corrects Yelagin's account on a few points, noting that 'Davidenko's pompous song is allotted not to the twittering piccolo (or flute, as it is marked in the score) but to a tuba playing in the flatulent lowest register and accompanied not by a drum but by a tambourine'.

⁴⁴³ Orlov, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 115.

⁴⁴⁴ *Testimony*, p. 183.

⁴⁴⁵ Moscow, 1957, p. 891; transl. by Richard Taruskin, *Oxford History of Western Music*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005, Vol. 5, p. 795.

c. Rimsky-Korsakov's *My Musical Life*

Orlov claims that typescript page 177 misquotes from Rimsky-Korsakov's reply to Diaghilev's invitation to come to Paris for a production of his *Sadko*:⁴⁴⁶

Diaghilev was dragging him [Rimsky-Korsakov] to one of his earliest concerts of Russian music in Paris. They were talking about *Sadko*. Diaghilev demanded cuts from Rimsky-Korsakov. He insisted that the French were incapable of listening to an opera from eight until midnight. Diaghilev said that the French couldn't even hear *Pelléas* to the end and fled in large crowds after eleven, creating a 'murderous impression' (Diaghilev's words).

Korsakov replied thus: 'I'm totally indifferent to the tastes of the French'. He added, 'If the weak-willed French audience in tail coats, who drop in at the opera and who listen to the bought press and to clagues, find it too difficult to hear the full *Sadko*, it shouldn't be offered to them'. Not badly said.⁴⁴⁷

Although this material does not appear in the original text of Rimsky-Korsakov's autobiography, *My Musical Life*, which goes up to 1906, it can be found in the chronicle for September 1906 to June 1908 added by the composer's son. Apparently, Orlov was unaware of this material, even though it was printed in the 1930s and, thus, was also available to Shostakovich.⁴⁴⁸ Compare the passage in *Testimony* with the correspondence between Diaghilev and Rimsky-Korsakov added by Andrey Nikolayevich Rimsky-Korsakov:

[17 (30) July 1907; Diaghilev to Rimsky-Korsakov]: To turn to *Sadko* — Lord, how hard it is! — I shall be again stoically severe and shall mention the portions which I take the liberty to like less in this, on a par with *Ruslan and Lyudmila*, best Russian fairy-tale opera. [. . .]⁴⁴⁹ You see, the

⁴⁴⁶ Orlov, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 115.

⁴⁴⁷ *Testimony*, pp. 129–30.

⁴⁴⁸ The addition appears in the third American edition of *My Musical Life*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1942 (hereafter *My Musical Life*), which 'follows faithfully the final form given to the text by the composer's son in the two latest (fourth [1932] and fifth [1935]) Russian editions, issued before the reviser's death [in 1940]'.

⁴⁴⁹ A list of suggested changes followed in the original letter, but was not printed. Also cf. Diaghilev's letter to Rimsky-Korsakov of 11 [24] August 1907:

[. . .] I shall hypnotize you with arguments that really 'the most rational thing' (these are your words) is to leave Lyubava [the wife of Sadko, who stays at home when he goes on his quest] in Russia, that the tableau in her room [Scene 3] does not enhance the interest of the action; that in the market scene [Scene 4], her two phrases which interrupt the chorus on the ship might be sung by the women's section of the chorus; and that the finale of the entr'acte, after the Undersea Kingdom, concludes as though purposely in A-flat major, in order to make a perfectly natural transition to the D-flat major closing hymn, against a background of a stylized, beautiful bright landscape with the blazing

question is not of cuts, but rather of remodeling. . . . *Frenchmen are absolutely incapable of listening to an opera from 8 till 12. Even their own Pelléas they cannot forgive for its length and soon after 11 they frankly flee from the theatre, and that produces a deadly impression.*⁴⁵⁰

A draft of Rimsky-Korsakov's reply (without date) remained in his files. One can clearly see that the passages in *Testimony* are based on actual documents such as the following:

Obviously my moving letters cannot move you from your theatrico-political point of view. The firmness with which you hold on to it deserves a better fate. You said that without my advice you would not venture to undertake *Sadko*, but my advice has nothing whatever to do with it, as you have formed a firm plan of action prior to any advice from me, and, at that, a plan from which you do not intend to swerve. I assure you that I, too, have a theatrico-artistic point of view from which it is impossible to dislodge me. Once there are mixed up with this business the nationalism of the Grand Duke Vladimir Aleksandrovich and the calculations of the Minister of Finance, success becomes imperative at all costs. But for me there exists only the artistic interest, and *to the taste of the French I remain utterly indifferent*, and even, on the contrary, want them to esteem me such as I am, and not adapted to their customs and tastes, which are by no means law. I have had an orchestral score of *Sadko* sent to me, and, having examined it, have come to the conclusion that in this work everything is legitimate, and that only those cuts which are current at the Mariinsky Theatre can be sanctioned by me. Not only the suppression of the last tableau, or of its major part, is inadmissible, but even the elimination of Lyubava's person is equally not to be thought of. *If to the weakling French public (in dress coats, who 'drop in' to the theatre for a while, who give ear to the voice of the venal press and hired clappers) Sadko is heavy in its present form, then it ought not be given . . .*

⁴⁵¹

This material also demonstrates the ease and accuracy with which Shostakovich could replicate even other people's texts, on the spur of the moment and without conscious effort.

cupolas of glorious Novgorod and the broad overflow of the river Volkhova . . . (*My Musical Life*, p. 437).

⁴⁵⁰ *My Musical Life*, p. 437; emphasis added.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 438; emphasis added. Also cf. Richard Buckle, *Diaghilev*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1979, p. 103.

d. Tchaikovsky's *Voyevoda*

Orlov claims that typescript page 165 errs in naming Pavel Lamm as the one who resurrected Tchaikovsky's *Voyevoda*: 'Lamm resurrected it [Tchaikovsky's *Voyevode*] once more'.⁴⁵² Instead, Orlov states that 'The score of Chaikovsky[']s opera *Voyevoda* destroyed by fire in the opera-house was restored from the parts in 1946 by Yuri Kochurov, not by Lamm'.⁴⁵³

Had Brown wished to check on this alleged error, he needed only to consult the 2001 *New Grove Dictionary* entry on Pavel Aleksandrovich Lamm (1882–1951). There Tchaikovsky scholar Lyudmila Korabel'nikova writes: 'Using the surviving orchestral parts and the vocal score, Lamm also restored Tchaikovsky's opera *The Voyevoda*'.⁴⁵⁴ Lamm is further identified as 'editor' on the published score (Moscow, 1953) and as 'reconstructor' on a recent recording of the work.⁴⁵⁵

e. *The Nose*

Orlov claims that typescript page 130 errs regarding the cancellation of Shostakovich's first opera: "'The Nose" was excluded from the repertoire after an inspired "protest of the workers" in a Leningrad newspaper, not because of too many rehearsals'.⁴⁵⁶ Here he questions the following passage in *Testimony*: 'Kirov had a strongly negative reaction to *The Nose* and the opera was taken out of the repertory. They blamed it on the fact that it needed too many rehearsals. The artists, they said, got tired'.⁴⁵⁷

While Orlov is correct that the opera elicited harsh words in the Leningrad press, where it was even described as 'an anarchist's hand bomb',⁴⁵⁸ it is also true that the work required numerous rehearsals. Therefore, it is entirely plausible that someone (note that Shostakovich says '*they* blamed' and '*they* said' to distance himself) gave him the lame excuse that the latter was the cause for the opera's removal. Nikolay Malko confirms that 'Samosud had an inordinate number of rehearsals in the year preceding the stage premiere [of *The Nose*] on 18 January 1930: 150 piano rehearsals, 50 orchestral rehearsals, and innumerable stage rehearsals'.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵² *Testimony*, p. 121.

⁴⁵³ Orlov, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 115.

⁴⁵⁴ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 14, p. 192.

⁴⁵⁵ Conifer 55022. Orlov here is mistakenly referring to Kochurov's completion of some missing pages of the full score for a staging by the Leningrad Maly Theater in 1949 (*cf.* <<http://www.tchaikovsky-research.org/en/Works/Operas/TH001/index.html>>).

⁴⁵⁶ Orlov, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 115.

⁴⁵⁷ *Testimony*, p. 95.

⁴⁵⁸ Volkov, p. 67.

⁴⁵⁹ Wilson, p. 74.

f. Events of 1905

Orlov claims that ‘it is hard to comprehend, [on typescript] pp. 7–8, how the sight of children allegedly killed by the police in 1905 could impress Shostakovich not yet born at that time’.⁴⁶⁰

Had he remembered the preceding paragraph in *Testimony*, he would have found the explanation: ‘Our family discussed the Revolution of 1905 constantly. I was born after that, but the stories deeply affected my imagination. When I was older, I read much about how it all happened’.⁴⁶¹ It is also significant that Shostakovich subtitled his Eleventh Symphony ‘The Year 1905’. Clearly, events before his birth, repeatedly retold to him by his family, could have an impact.

g. Seventh Symphony

Orlov claims that typescript page 212 includes ‘contradictory statements’ about the genesis of the Seventh Symphony:⁴⁶² ‘The 7th was conceived before the war’ versus ‘I wanted to create an image of the country in battle’.⁴⁶³

This issue is discussed at length in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 150–59 (summarized on pp. 265–66 below). In addition, a wealth of new evidence further corroborates the pre-war beginning of the Seventh mentioned in *Testimony*:

(1) Shostakovich, in an interview in December 1940 (i.e., long before 22 June 1941, when the Nazis invaded the USSR), already referred to the Seventh Symphony as a work in progress. ‘In 1941’, Shostakovich stated, ‘I hope to complete my Seventh Symphony, which I shall dedicate to the great genius of mankind — Vladimir Ilich Lenin’.⁴⁶⁴

(2) Musicologist Lyudmila Mikheyeva, the daughter-in-law of Ivan Sollertinsky, Shostakovich’s closest friend, has recently revealed:

It is unknown exactly when, but at the end of the 30s or in 1940, but in any event before the beginning of the Great Patriotic War Shostakovich wrote variations on an ostinato theme — a passacaglia, similar in conception to Ravel’s *Bolero* [the ‘invasion’ episode — Eds.].⁴⁶⁵ He showed it to his junior colleagues and students (from the fall of 1937 Shostakovich taught composition and orchestration at the Leningrad Conservatory). The theme was simple, jerkily dancing, and it

⁴⁶⁰ Orlov, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 115.

⁴⁶¹ *Testimony*, p. 8.

⁴⁶² Orlov, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 112.

⁴⁶³ A reference to *Testimony*, pp. 154–55.

⁴⁶⁴ Christopher Gibbs, in Laurel E. Fay (ed.), *Shostakovich and His World*, p. 107, note 21. Shostakovich’s statement was published earlier in program notes for the Cleveland Orchestra, 15 and 17 October 1942.

⁴⁶⁵ This echoes Shostakovich’s own description of the invasion episode to Aram Khachaturian (‘Forgive me, will you, if this reminds you of Ravel’s *Bolero*’) and to Glikman (‘Idle critics will no doubt reproach me for imitating Ravel’s *Bolero*’) (Wilson, p. 148).

developed with a background of dry sounds of snare drum and grew to tremendous strength. First it sounded harmless, and even frivolous, but then grew to a tremendous symbol of oppression. The composer set this work aside, without performing or publishing it.⁴⁶⁶

(3) Two of Shostakovich's pupils at the time, Revol' Bunin and Galina Ustvol'skaya, have corroborated Sollertinskaya's statement above. Viktor Vanslov, who studied with Bunin and was a friend during their student years at the musical college of the Moscow Conservatory (1939–40) and then at the Conservatory itself (1944–48), recalls that the latter once

gave me an ironic smile upon my admiration of the depiction of war in the first movement of the Seventh Symphony and said that Shostakovich mocked those who saw there only the depiction of war. He added that Shostakovich told him that, even though he began writing the Seventh Symphony in the first days of the war, he conceptualized it before the war.

⁴⁶⁷

Ustvol'skaya adds that

in 1939–40, Shostakovich . . . told me that he had almost completed his Seventh Symphony. There remained only the addition of a coda and some corrections; he mentioned that he didn't know how best to name it: the 'Lenin' or the 'Leninskaya' [Symphony] — Dmitri Dmitrievich highly respected V. I. Lenin and always wanted to dedicate one of his works to him.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁶ Lyudmila Mikheyeva, entry on Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony, *111 Simphony. Spravochnik-putevoditel' (111 Symphonies. Reference Guide)*, Kul't-Info-Press, St. Petersburg, 2000, p. 618. Also cf. Volkov, p. 171. Another friend of the young Shostakovich, A. A. Ashkenazi, told Mark Aranovsky that 'part of the materials of the [Seventh] symphony really were composed shortly before the war. But every musician understands that "materials" are one thing, and the entire work, with its own conception, where these materials acquired their own contextual functions — is another' (*Vozvrashchaias' k Shostakovichu*, ed. by N. A. Ryzhkova, Muzizdat, Moscow, 2010, p. 29).

⁴⁶⁷ Viktor Vladimirovich Vanslov, *O muzyke i muzykantakh (On Music and Musicians)*, Znaniye, Moscow, 2006, pp. 150–51. Bunin (1924–76) was one of Shostakovich's favorite students at the Moscow Conservatory (1943–45) and later served as his composition assistant at the Leningrad Conservatory (1947). His statement about the Seventh Symphony predates the publication of *Testimony* and, thus, was not influenced by it. Ustvol'skaya had lessons with Shostakovich at the Leningrad Conservatory between 1938–47, and also did post-graduate work with him in 1950. Shostakovich even proposed marriage to her, twice (after the death of his first wife in 1957 and his divorce from his second in 1959), but was turned down.

⁴⁶⁸ O. Gladkova, *Galina Ustvol'skaya — muzyka kak navazhdenie (Galina Ustvol'skaya — Music as Hallucination)*, Muzyka, St. Petersburg, 1999, p. 31. Transl. above by Paul Mitchinson, 'Wishful Thinking', *The Nation*, 3 May 2004; on the Internet at <<http://www.andante.com/article/article.cfm?id=24130>>. Per Skans also reported in an email of 2 July 2004:

I just spent a large part of two days with Ustvol'skaya and her husband [Konstantin Bagrenin] (mainly with the latter, since she is a bit frail and had to rest a lot). I was told

The date given here is entirely consistent with the one in *Testimony*, p. 230 (i.e., c. 1939, before he began reorchestrating *Boris Godunov*), which Fay, Yakubov, and others dismiss because it is at odds with the dates on the manuscript itself.⁴⁶⁹ Although *Testimony* does not mention the ‘Lenin’ subtitle specifically,⁴⁷⁰ it does acknowledge, in

that DS had shown her the completed score of No. 7 in 1939. To be on the safe side I asked several times: Was it really in 1939, not in 1941? Was the score complete, all movements, and orchestrated? To this the answer was definitely yes. Furthermore she stated that one of the reasons why he showed it was that he wanted to ask her for a suggestion how to name it. He wanted to name it after Lenin, whom he admired much.

⁴⁶⁹ The quotation from *The Merry Widow*, which had been staged very successfully in Leningrad in 1935, may make even greater sense given this earlier dating. The text of the Lehar is ‘Dann geh’ ich zu Maxim’ (‘Then I’ll go to Maxim’). In 1939, Shostakovich had a one-year-old Maxim, to whom he certainly would go frequently. When Skans asked about the ‘official’ dates, Ustvol’skaya’s husband responded ‘with a broad grin that even for a man like Shostakovich, that speed would have been impossible if one sums up everything else that he had to do at that time when the invasion just had started. Western musicologists tend to think that Shostakovich could withdraw to his chambers, working as usual, but that is pure nonsense, he had any amount of “worldly” things to do’ (email from Skans, 4 July 2004).

Recently, Yakubov acknowledged on Bavarian TV (4 October 2006) that the assumption that the Seventh Symphony ‘might in reality be about Stalin, his monstrous terror in Leningrad in the 30s, the murder of Kirov, the eradication of large parts of the party leadership in the city etc. [. . .] cannot be dismissed: it is quite possible. But it also cannot be proved’. He goes on to conclude that ‘If we get into such a situation, playing various theories against each other as it were, we will soon end up in a labyrinth, knowing absolutely nothing’ (summarized by Per Skans, *DSCH Journal*, 26, January 2007, p. 67). *Testimony*, in contrast, openly acknowledges multiple inspirations for the Seventh and mainly rejects the earlier notion that it is solely (or even mainly) about the Nazi invasion.

⁴⁷⁰ The subtitle is not surprising. Sabinina notes in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 156, that ‘As early as the 1930s, Shostakovich had been “encouraged” to compose a “Lenin” symphony’. If that were true, then any new symphony might have had Lenin as a possible subject, even if only momentarily. For example, in *Sovetskoye isskusstvo* (20 November 1938), Shostakovich said that his Sixth Symphony would be dedicated to ‘Lenin’s memory’, then in *Leningradskaya Pravda* (28 August 1939, 1 and 20 January 1940) and *Moskovskii Bolshevik* (14 November 1940) he attached the same dedication to the future Seventh Symphony (Wilson, pp. 127–28, note 33).

The composer’s true views of Lenin are evident in his aborted satire of Lenin in the original Twelfth Symphony, which was quickly replaced by a more acceptable one according to Lebedinsky (*cf.* Wilson, p. 346 and *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 248–49, note 23), his humorous anecdote about Lenin and Nikandrov in part of the unpublished typescript of *Testimony* (printed for the first time on pp. 234–35 below), and his letters to Tat’yana Glivenko. Regarding the latter, Volkov, p. 64, writes: ‘The cult of Lenin, being imposed from above, grew to unbelievable excess after his death in 1924: this makes Mitya’s favorite joke even more risky: He persisted in using “Ilyich” (as the press lovingly referred to Vladimir Ilyich Lenin) for Petr Ilyich Tchaikovsky. In a letter to Glivenko, Shostakovich wrote indignantly about changing Petrograd to Leningrad, which he sarcastically dubbed St. Leninburg’. Apparently, Shostakovich was under no illusion that Lenin was a saint, but rather a precursor of Stalin. The Russian émigré economist Nikolai Bazilli (Nicolas de Basily) noted that ‘In his views on dictatorship, as on many other points, Stalin is Lenin’s continuator and, as it were, a simplified edition of him’ (*Russia under Soviet Rule: Twenty Years of Bolshevik Experiment*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1938, p. 126). Ian MacDonald further notes that ‘Lenin was the same as Stalin in terms of being a dictator, an anti-democratic scourge of everyone not in his Party (Stalin was more democratic, including the Party in his purges), the inventor of the Gulag, the creator of the Cheka (KGB), the initiator of state terror (in 1918), the victimiser of the peasants (whom he hated as “backward” people), the instigator of the Civil War, the persecutor of the church, and [. . .] chips off the same bloody-minded block’ (email, 31 January 2000; also *cf.* ‘Shostakovich

the passage immediately before, that ‘the process of writing a new work is long and complicated. Sometimes you start writing and then change your mind’.⁴⁷¹ Shostakovich goes on to mention multiple inspirations for the Seventh, including the *Psalms of David*; Stalin, Hitler, and ‘other enemies of humanity’; and the ‘terrible pre-war years’.⁴⁷²

(4) Yevgeny Yevtushenko recalls driving to Shostakovich’s place in March 1962, after the composer had phoned to ask permission to set his poem ‘Babi Yar’. According to the poet, Shostakovich ‘played and sung his just finished vocal-symphonic poem *Babi Yar*. Then he said, “You know, I feel it’s necessary to broaden and deepen it. One of my *prewar* symphonies⁴⁷³ was about our own native fears, arrests.⁴⁷⁴ And ‘they’ began to interpret my music, putting all the emphasis on Hitler’s Germany. Do you have any other poems, for example, about fears? For me this is a unique opportunity to speak my mind not only with the help of music, also with the help of your poetry. Then no one will be able to ascribe a different meaning to my music”’.⁴⁷⁵ Shortly thereafter, Yevtushenko wrote the poem ‘Fears’, which was incorporated in the Thirteenth Symphony. And finally,

(5) Volkov, in *Shostakovich and Stalin*, perceptively observes that

Shostakovich, in describing the Seventh Symphony, did not speak of the episode or the theme of ‘invasion’ — that word appeared in articles and reviews by numerous commentators. On the contrary, in a highly evasive author’s note for the premiere, he stressed: ‘I did not set myself the goal of a naturalistic depiction of military action (the roar of planes, the crash of tanks, cannon fire), I did not compose so-called battle music. I wanted to convey the content of grim events’. What ‘grim events’ if not the war could be depicted in the work of a Soviet author in 1941? This question would evince either a total ignorance of Soviet history or a willful ignoring of it. The beginning of the war could not erase the bloody memory of the mass purges of recent years.

and Lenin’ in Part 5 of MacDonald’s review of Fay’s book, on the Internet at <<http://www.siue.edu/~aho/musov/fay/fayrev5.html>>).

⁴⁷¹ *Testimony*, p. 154.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 155. Maxim and Galina Shostakovich corroborate this broader meaning for the Seventh in their Introduction to the second Russian edition of Volkov’s *Shostakovich and Stalin* (cf. p. 251 below).

⁴⁷³ The reference is clearly to the Seventh Symphony, because none of the others from the 1930s have ever been associated with Hitler’s Germany.

⁴⁷⁴ Such as the arrest of Meyerhold. In *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 157, we noted that a sketch of the ‘invasion theme’ is reported to have an inscription ‘in Memory of the Master’, dated 26 June 1939, six days after Meyerhold was arrested.

⁴⁷⁵ ‘Remembering Shostakovich’, *DSCH Journal*, 15, July 2001, p. 15. This statement is significant because it shows Shostakovich distinguishing between the *intended* meaning of his music and ‘interpretations’ by others. For his comment in *Testimony* on ‘meaning in music’, cf. p. 191 below. Francis Maes, in ‘Between Reality and Transcendence: Shostakovich’s Songs’, *Cambridge Companion to Shostakovich*, p. 232, finds it ‘unfortunate [that some . . .] take literally a highly debatable remark in Solomon Volkov’s *Testimony*, where he has Shostakovich declare that “when I combine music with words, it becomes harder to misinterpret my intent”’. But isn’t this *exactly* what Shostakovich told Yevtushenko?

Turning to the music itself, Volkov also asks:

Why does the ‘invasion’ theme begin in the strings very softly, pianissimo, and only gradually expand, turning into a howling monster? The Nazis had attacked the Soviet Union with their entire military might; their invasion was, as everyone recalls, an instantaneous shock of enormous power. There is nothing of the sort in Shostakovich’s music. If this is an invasion, then it comes from within rather than from outside. It is not a sudden incursion but a gradual takeover, when fear paralyzes the mind.⁴⁷⁶

2. Nos. 8–10: New Errors Cited by Laurel E. Fay

As noted previously in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, Fay has pointed to various ‘errors’ in *Testimony* that are, in fact, correct when viewed in proper perspective. In her recent book, *Shostakovich: A Life*, she deliberately limits additional mention of the memoirs, since she wishes to make it ‘go away’ and views it as nothing more than a ‘very slight impediment’ to her own research. Nevertheless, she cannot resist attributing a few new ‘errors’ to *Testimony*.

a. Death of a Child

Fay calls attention to an inconsistency in the memoirs concerning the ‘death of a child’:

The legend that Shostakovich transformed his own memory of witnessing the killing of a boy during a worker’s uprising on *Nevsky Prospect* in July 1917 into the episode in the Second Symphony that precedes the entry of the chorus is complicated by information in one of his letters to Yavorsky.⁴⁷⁷

Later, on page 296, note 29, she adds that *Testimony* pinpoints ‘this incident’ as having taken place in February, but Malko, in *A Certain Art*, pp. 204–5, says it occurred on Letniy rather than Nevsky Prospect, makes no mention of a worker’s uprising, and claims that the boy was killed for stealing an apple. In fact, this is not an error in the memoirs, but still another misreading by Fay. Here is the passage in *Testimony*:

⁴⁷⁶ Volkov, p. 172.

⁴⁷⁷ Fay, p. 40, emphasis added; the reference is to Shostakovich’s letter of 12 June 1927, in which he uses the Russian word *mladenets* (infant or baby) rather than *mal’chugan* (young boy). Also cf. Fay, p. 296, note 30, “‘Khorosho bilo bi ne dumat’ [. . .]’ (“It Would be Nice to Think” [. . .]’), *Muzykal’naya Akademiya*, 4, 1997, p. 40, and *Dmitry Shostakovich: v pis’makh i dokumentakh*, p. 115.

I remember another incident more clearly. It took place in February of the same year [1917]. They were breaking up a crowd in the street. And a Cossack killed a boy with his saber. It was terrifying. I ran home to tell them about it.

There were trucks all over Petrograd, filled with soldiers, who were shooting. It was better not to go out in those days.

I didn't forget the boy. And I never will. I tried to write music about it several times. When I was small, I wrote a piano piece called 'Funeral March in Memory of Victims of the Revolution'. Then my Second and Twelfth Symphonies addressed the same theme. And not only those symphonies.

I also remember that there were a lot of prostitutes in Petrograd. They came out in flocks onto Nevsky Prospect in the evening. This began with the war, they serviced the soldiers. I was afraid of the prostitutes too.⁴⁷⁸

Fay appears to have conflated several different incidents into one. For example, where does *Testimony* say that the killing of the boy took place on Nevsky Prospect? Shostakovich recalls a boy being killed by a Cossack in one paragraph, then the shooting of guns by soldiers in another. Two paragraphs later he recalls prostitutes servicing soldiers — on Nevsky Prospect. Therefore, Fay deduces, the boy must also have been killed on Nevsky Prospect!⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁸ *Testimony*, p. 7.

⁴⁷⁹ Fay also refers to M. Grinberg's 'Dmitry Shostakovich', *Muzyka i revolyutsiya* 11 (1927), p. 17, but no mention of the street name is found there either:

The February and October revolutions were 'reflected' in the 'Revolutionary symphony', in the 'Funeral march in memory of victims of the revolution', etc. The October revolution — not without some naive pride, says Sh. — he 'met on the street'. The tragic incident of a killing of some boy on the street by a policeman remained particularly memorable to the child (this incident was reflected, by the way, in 'To the October' — in the episode before the choral entrance.)

In an addendum to his letter to Rogal-Levitsky (22 September 1927; *Dmitry Shostakovich: v pis'makh i dokumentakh*, p. 186), Shostakovich writes:

I met the October revolution on the street, and saw someone (who turned out to be a former policeman) shoot a small boy. I remembered this tragic episode and, when I was composing a work dedicated to October [the Second Symphony], I remembered it especially clearly and dedicated to this event an episode before the entrance of the choir.

Finally, Boris Lossky wonders if

in reality, the boy's death that impressed Mitya actually refers to another incident witnessed slightly earlier by his elder sister Musya (Mariya). She was a pupil at the Stoyunina Gymnasium. One day, as the pupils were dispersing after lessons were over, they watched a demonstration of workers emerging on to the streets from the nearby Bogdanov tobacco factory. One of its youngest participants, still only a lad, was slashed to death by a policeman's sabre in front of them (Wilson, p. 20).

b. Death of Pavel Apostolov

Fay also questions what is stated in *Testimony* about the death of Pavel Apostolov: ‘And Comrade Apostolov, right there at the rehearsal [of the Fourteenth Symphony], dropped dead’.⁴⁸⁰ Instead, she reports that Apostolov’s ‘actual date of death is recorded as 19 July 1969, almost a month after the symphony’s run-through’ on 21 June.⁴⁸¹ Although this Soviet record is, indeed, at odds with the memoirs, the latter actually is more consistent with what Shostakovich and many others knew to be true: that Apostolov’s demise was *sooner* rather than later. Indeed, just about everyone except Fay dismisses the ‘official’ death date as bogus, especially those who were present at the concert. Let us consider the evidence, most of which goes unmentioned by Fay:

(1) Shostakovich, in a letter to Glikman of 27 June 1969, stated: ‘And then the musicologist Pavel Apostolov was taken ill during the fifth movement of my symphony. He managed to get out of the packed hall, but died a little while later’.⁴⁸² Significantly, Isaak Glikman, when preparing this letter for publication twenty-five years later, also found no need to correct Shostakovich’s supposed ‘mistake’ about Apostolov’s death. Unfortunately, in the English edition (*Story of a Friendship*), Anthony Phillips has added his own note accepting Fay’s ‘official’ date.

(2) Rudolf Barshai, who conducted this performance and, thus, would have been keenly interested in the timing of Apostolov’s demise, told Wilson in an interview: ‘Apostolov died almost at once’ and, afterwards, ‘Shostakovich appeared backstage chewing his fingernails [. . . and said] “I didn’t want that to happen, I didn’t want that”’.⁴⁸³

(3) Kirill Kondrashin, who was in the audience, similarly rejected Apostolov’s ‘official’ death date and provided the following account:

Barshai began to study the symphony with his orchestra, Miroshnikova and Vladimirov were the soloists. In June, a public general rehearsal took place in the Small Hall of the Conservatory. The hall was of course totally filled up with people, everyone had already heard about the event. Shostakovich’s friends were assembled, as were all students and everyone who had been able to fight his way through. Nobody was there from the leadership, I only saw Apostolov, one of the authors of the unfortunate 1948 decree. Apparently there had been three of them: Yarustovsky, Apostolov and Vartanyan.⁴⁸⁴ Apostolov was the oldest of them, he had

⁴⁸⁰ *Testimony*, p. 184.

⁴⁸¹ Fay, p. 262.

⁴⁸² *Story of a Friendship*, p. 165. Shostakovich could not have put the wrong month on this letter because in it he looks ahead to ‘flying to Yerevan on 1 July’.

⁴⁸³ Wilson, p. 416.

⁴⁸⁴ Apostolov and Yarustovsky are two of the main figures lampooned in Shostakovich’s *Rayok*. The former’s quick demise as ‘Opostylov’ in the Preface to this work also reflects Shostakovich’s and others’ belief that his death was sooner rather than later.

already retired, but was still fairly active, occupying some post within the Party organisation.

Before the beginning of the rehearsal Dmitry Dmitrievich appeared, saying some deeply felt words about not having written this symphony about death just because he was feeling closer to it with every year that passed, or because his nearest and dearest friends were dying and the shells were thus exploding closer and closer, but also because he felt that it was necessary to carry on polemics with death. He turned against many classics of the past, musicians who had seen death as a deliverance, a transition to a better world, and that this carries us away from our short life, to transfer us to a place where we shall stay forever. He said: 'I cannot see anything of all this. I hate death, and this work was written in a feeling of protest against it'. Here he quoted the words of Nikolay Ostrovsky, who has said that the human being, when thinking of death, should live with dignity and honesty, avoiding to perform shameful, evil actions (he returned to this theme a few times). Then he made short comments about every single movement of the symphony.

During Shostakovich's speech I heard from behind some kind of stir. I was recording the speech on a tape recorder (this was in fact the only recording that was made, and friends of Dmitry Dmitrievich came to me to copy it), and didn't know what was happening.

Then the symphony was performed. And when I left the hall, I discovered that an ambulance was standing outside and that *they were carrying out someone whose face was covered by a hat. And when they cover the face with a hat, it means that they are carrying a corpse. Afterwards I learned that this was Apostolov. He had begun feeling unwell during Dmitry Dmitrievich's speech. His heart was giving in. He left the hall with difficulty, fell over and died.* In this I see an act of great retribution. Apostolov and his company of rascals had ten years of Dmitry Dmitrievich's life on their conscience. He did not only create that Decree, but he on the whole saw to it that not a single one of his [Shostakovich's] works was performed.⁴⁸⁵

(4) Aleksander Medved'yev, the librettist selected for Shostakovich's unrealized opera *The Black Monk* and still another eyewitness, confirmed on 22 September 2005 that after the dress rehearsal of the Fourteenth, he personally saw Apostolov on the bench in the foyer of the Small Hall, blue. He perceived him to be dying, but stayed below, not wishing to observe too closely. Some of the people who were coming out later told him

⁴⁸⁵ Kirill Kondrashin, *Muzykal'naja zhizn'*, 1989, No. 17, p. 27; transl. by Per Skans. Yuli Turovsky, a cellist in this performance, similarly recalls in his liner notes to Chandos 8607, 'we saw in the midst of the crowd two orderlies carrying a man on a stretcher, who was trying to cover his face with his hat so as not to be recognized, but his hands would no longer obey him. This man was Apostolov. He died on his way to the hospital of heart failure. On the day of the funeral two large buses were sent to the building of the Union of Composers in order to drive to the cemetery all those who wished to escort him on his last journey. Only four people, relatives of the deceased, came to the funeral' (reprinted in *DSCH Journal*, 38, January 2013, p. 80).

that Apostolov had died. When asked about the ‘official’ death date of a month later, his reaction was unequivocal — ‘this is not true. Tens of people knew of it [that Apostolov died almost immediately]’.⁴⁸⁶

(5) Grigory Frid, who was also present, was asked on 6 June 2005 about Apostolov’s death. His daughter reports:

Yes, he [my father] was at that ‘obshchestvennoe proslushivanie’ in 1969 (even though he does not remember the exact date). He remembers that before the performance, Shostakovich had a few words of introduction where he said that one should not think that he can do something after death, but all things should be done right now, when you live (I guess he was talking about doing good things when you live), you cannot change anything later, after death. After this introduction, Apostolov stood up (he was awfully pale) and walked out of the hall (into the foyer) where he fell. He was taken to the hospital, and nobody really knew if he died on the way there or there, but they got a word of his death almost the next day. Everybody was talking about it as something symbolical since Apostolov was one of those Central Committee watchdog ‘musikoveds’ who was ‘after’ Shostakovich and others. My father has no clue as to why the date of his death was July 19th (in the dictionary)⁴⁸⁷ but he says for sure Apostolov did not live for these few weeks. (Actually, the authors of that dictionary could have been given instructions to put that date so that by no means that would look ‘symbolical’ as people were gossiping).⁴⁸⁸

Others who reject Fay’s ‘official’ date include Elizabeth Wilson⁴⁸⁹ and those mentioned below:

(1) Krzysztof Meyer, who in 1994 wrote: ‘And while, in the last movement, these terrible words “death is all powerful, it keeps watch . . .” resounded, the corpse of the man who had left the room [concert hall] a half an hour before in his last effort, lay in the corridor of the Conservatory. It was Pavel Apostolov. . . .’⁴⁹⁰ When contacted on 21

⁴⁸⁶ Phone conversation between Medved’yev and Feofanov, 22 September 2005.

⁴⁸⁷ A reference to Yu. Keldysh (ed.), *Muzikal’naya Entsiklopediya*, Vol. 1, Sovetsky Kompozitor, Moscow, 1973.

⁴⁸⁸ Email from Maria Frid to Per Skans, 6 June 2005.

⁴⁸⁹ Wilson, p. 412. In the second edition of her book, p. 469, note 8, Wilson acknowledges the official date cited by Fay, but then adds ‘as a witness to these events in Moscow myself, I can confirm that the rumour (true or false) of the death of Shostakovich’s former persecutor on 21 June, the day of the symphony’s “closed” performance, immediately started to circulate round Moscow’. She also notes on p. 466 that ‘Many Russians held the superstitious belief that his death represented a vindication of the sufferings inflicted on the composer over the years; indeed, Apostolov’s funeral was virtually boycotted by his colleagues’. The latter makes no sense if the funeral took place a month later.

⁴⁹⁰ *Dimitri Chostakovitch*, Fayard, Paris, 1994, p. 458: ‘Et pendant que résonnaient, dans le dernier mouvement, ces terribles paroles “La mort est toute-puissante, elle veille . . .” le cadavre de l’homme qui,

September 2005, Meyer stood by this information: ‘To begin with, regarding Apostolov: it is 100% certain that he died during the public rehearsal of the 14th Symphony. A number of persons told me about this; several of them also had seen the corpse. They were, for example, Kirill Kondrashin, the wife of Ivan Monighetti, Edison Denisov, Alfred Schnittke, and Aleksander Medved’yev’.⁴⁹¹

(2) Manashir Yakubov, curator of the Shostakovich Family Archive, who in 1998 explained: ‘Shostakovich’s words at the rehearsal caused such a tremendous shock among the party functionaries present in the hall that during the performance of the symphony that followed, Apostolov, an executive of the Soviet Communist Party’s Central Committee and a former prosecutor of Shostakovich, collapsed and died from a heart attack’.⁴⁹²

(3) Vladimir Toporov, who in *Dmitry Shostakovich: v pis'makh i dokumentakh* (2000) recalled:

About the premiere of the Fourteenth Symphony and about the death of one of those figures who interfered with the life and art of Dmitry Dmitrievich Shostakovich during his entire life [Ed. — the reference is to Apostolov] (this death took place on the day of the premiere of the Fourteenth) [Ed.— this happened during the dress rehearsal], I learned from V. V. Borisovsky, whose class I entered in 1971, and to him Dmitry Dmitriyevich Shostakovich dedicated his Thirteenth Quartet.⁴⁹³

(4) Levon Hakobian, a contributor to *A Shostakovich Casebook*, who maintained in his recent book on the composer (2004) that Apostolov, ‘in the middle of the performance of the symphony, [. . .] die[d] from a heart attack’.⁴⁹⁴

(5) Dmitry Smirnov, who in 2004 reported hearing about how ‘during the fifth movement *On the Alert* the *body* of Apostolov was carried away from the foyer and out of the Moscow Conservatory’s Maly Hall. [. . .] The tragedy of this occurrence could hardly conceal the symbolism that it embodied — the oppressor and persecutor of the music of a genius perished at the hands of this self-same music!’⁴⁹⁵

une demi-heure auparavant, avait quitté la salle dans un dernier effort, gisait dans le couloir du Conservatoire. C’était Pavel Apostolov . . .’

⁴⁹¹ Meyer to Per Skans, 21 September 2005; original communication in German: ‘Zuerst über Apostolow: es ist hundertprozentig sicher, daß er während der öffentlichen Probe der 14. Sinfonie starb. Darüber erzählten mir mehrere Leute, manche haben auch die Leiche gesehen. Es waren u.a. Kirill Kondraschin, die Frau von Iwan Monighetti, Edisson Denisow, Alfred Schnittke und Aleksandr Miedwiediew’.

⁴⁹² Yakubov, *Shostakovich 1906–1976*, p. 71.

⁴⁹³ *Dmitry Shostakovich: v pis'makh i dokumentakh*, p. 432.

⁴⁹⁴ Hakobian [Akopian], Levon, *Dmitry Shostakovich: opyt fenomenologii tvorchestva (Dmitry Shostakovich: An Attempt at Understanding His Art)*, St. Petersburg, Dmitry Bulanin, 2004, p. 436.

⁴⁹⁵ Dmitri N. Smirnov, ‘My Shostakovich’, ed. Helen Tipper and Guy Stockton, *DSCH Journal*, 24, January 2006, p.15; emphasis added.

(6) Nataliya Tartakovskaya, who in 2006 noted:

In accordance with the reminiscences of those present in the hall that day, unexpectedly, Shostakovich stood up, and, without going to the stage, delivered introductory remarks. It is there the fatal event took place, which had been forever connected with the first performance of the symphony — the sudden death of P. I. Apostolov, a musicologist [and] member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party staff, who was one of the vicious critics of Shostakovich.⁴⁹⁶

Where, then, does this leave us concerning Apostolov's death? In order to give credence to the 'official' date put forward by Fay — *which is not new, but has been 'out there' for a long time, even before Shostakovich died*⁴⁹⁷ — we would have to believe that Shostakovich, Glikman, Barshai, Kondrashin, Turovsky, Medved'yev, Frid, Wilson, Meyer, Denisov, Schnittke, Yakubov, Toporov, Borisovsky, Habokian, Smirnov, Tartakovskaya, and a host of others all got it terribly wrong. In fact, these figures knew the truth.

c. A 'Portrait of Stalin' in the Scherzo of the Tenth Symphony

Fay continues to doubt that the Tenth Symphony is, in any sense, the 'portrait of Stalin' stated in the memoirs:

I did depict Stalin in music in my next symphony, the Tenth. I wrote it right after Stalin's death, and no one has yet guessed what the symphony is about. It's about Stalin and the Stalin years. The second part, the scherzo, is a musical portrait of Stalin, roughly speaking. Of course, there are many other things in it, but that's the basis.⁴⁹⁸

Unfortunately, rather than thoroughly investigating this matter, Fay in *Shostakovich: A Life* merely repeats the composer's words at the time of the work's première, even though there's been 'time to do some thinking'. Neal Gittleman elaborates on this point:

Having just finished Fay's book I confess to feeling rather underwhelmed. [. . .] I, personally, am left frustrated by the 'roads not travelled'.

The consideration of the 10th Symphony is an excellent example. Here's a major piece, certainly one of the composer's greatest. It appears

⁴⁹⁶ Tartakovskaya, 'Shostakovich v Gramzapisi' ('Shostakovich in Recordings'), in Rakhmanova, p. 207.

⁴⁹⁷ As noted previously, the 19 July death date is already mentioned in *Muzykal'naya Entsiklopediya*, published in 1973. The circumstances and death dates of other figures in the USSR also were 'adjusted'. One need only recall the camouflage surrounding the murder of Solomon Mikhoels in 1948 and the 'official' postdating of Isaak Babel's death to 17 March 1941, 'to make it appear that his demise had nothing to do with the Terror [. . .]. Documents later discovered in the archives of the KGB show that he was, in fact, tortured and shot in January 1940' (*The New Shostakovich*, rev. edn., p. 401).

⁴⁹⁸ *Testimony*, p. 141.

just after one of the most momentous events in Soviet history — the death of Stalin. Is there even a word about the purported subject matter of the 2nd movement? Not one. Fay makes allusion to some of *Testimony's* testimony from time to time, with a good deal of scepticism and large grains of salt — that's her prerogative. But why she would choose at this point not even to mention *Testimony's* 'The second part, the scherzo, is a musical portrait of Stalin, roughly speaking . . .' is beyond me. We learn that the 10th introduces the DSCCH motive, and we learn that DS was lucky in having such a pregnant set of intervals for his 'signature'. Is there any mention, though[,] of DSCCH being slammed out in the timpani in the final pages, just as the music of the 2nd movement is reprised? I know it's 'just a biography', but for cryin' out loud, it's a biography by someone who bills themself[f] as a 'writer on Russian and Soviet music'.

Here's a moment when some salient comments on the music itself would be SO revealing. But no . . . We get a quote of DS's own words — the first-movement-too-long-second-movement-too-short bit. We get 'he admitted to having written the work too quickly, to having failed in his goal of creating a genuine symphony allegro in the first movement'.⁴⁹⁹

In contrast to Fay, we have been willing to do the legwork, repeatedly, to investigate material in *Testimony*. For example, in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 63, note 58, Fay mentions a 1998 interview in which Maxim Shostakovich disputes that the scherzo of the Tenth is a portrait of Stalin: 'That is an example of a rumor [. . .]. I think some musicologists set this idea forth. Others repeated it. I don't think of it that way. Father never said it was a portrait of Stalin'.⁵⁰⁰ However, she never mentions that *Maxim*

⁴⁹⁹ Neal Gittleman, review of Fay's book, 'The Nays', *DSCCH Journal*, 12, January 2000, pp. 17–18 (cf. Fay, p. 190; to be fair, she does mention, and reject, the 'portrait of Stalin' idea in note 14, p. 327, but not in her main text). Even Wilson, p. 262, dismisses Shostakovich's early words as 'an apology [. . .] which verges on the ridiculous; indeed its absurdity is so patent that on this occasion the composer must have penned it himself, dispensing with the services of a ghost-writer'.

⁵⁰⁰ Chris Pasles, 'Was He or Wasn't He?' *Los Angeles Times/Calendar*, 29 November 1998, p. 74 (hereafter Pasles). It is worth remembering that Maxim first conducted the Tenth only in September 1965, long after the Stalin years had passed; in addition, Shostakovich often withheld things from Maxim for the latter's own protection. According to Lev Lebedinsky, Shostakovich 'wasn't in the habit of sharing his deepest thoughts [. . . with] his son' (Wilson, p. 317), for the reason elaborated on by Kurt Sanderling:

To him he said the least, for a very simple reason. You see, the education of children under a dictatorship is a very complicated affair. On the one hand, you teach them to be critical of what is happening politically- speaking, and on the other hand you have to make them understand that one has to be careful when discussing such matters. And I think he told him a lot less than he told, for example, his friends, because quite simply he didn't want to put him in danger' (Sanderling, 'Performers on Shostakovich: Kurt Sanderling', *DSCCH Journal*, 6, Winter 1996, p. 14; also *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 90, note 161).

Manashir Yakubov, p. 54, also rejects the 'portrait of Stalin' idea, preferring to view the scherzo as 'an avalanche of sound, evoking the crashing roar of natural forces like a wild hurricane'. However, keep in mind what Shostakovich said to David Rabinovich (*D. Shostakovich*, p. 132) when asked early on about a program in the Tenth: 'let them listen and guess for themselves' (cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 168). Are we to believe he wanted people to guess about a 'wild hurricane' or does his statement in *Testimony*,

himself, on at least two earlier occasions, was the very person circulating this ‘rumor’, significantly *at the very time* that he was publicly criticizing *Testimony*. In an interview in 1981, the following exchange takes place:

Stern: But he has glorified Soviet power in his symphonies, too.

Maxim: That is absolute nonsense. Anyone who understands something of my Father’s symphonies, knows that they do not contain any compromises whatsoever. *In the second movement of the 10th Symphony from 1953, Stalin’s dreadful face is being described*. Many colleagues accused the work of being ‘pessimistic’. Other works are devoted to the Revolution, which was a global event.⁵⁰¹

Maxim reiterated that the scherzo was a ‘portrait of Stalin’ on 13 November 1986, while rehearsing the Tenth with the student orchestra at the Royal Northern College of Music. Raymond Clarke, who was seated only a few yards from Maxim, remembers this vividly, especially since Clarke himself did not subscribe to the *Testimony* viewpoint and found it notable that Maxim was corroborating something in the memoirs that he was at the same time criticizing:⁵⁰² ‘My very definite impression at that time was that he accepted the “portrait of Stalin” idea. After all, why would he have mentioned it to the orchestra anyway if he didn’t believe it?’⁵⁰³ Clarke elaborates on this in his revision of Ian MacDonald’s *The New Shostakovich*:

I was present when Maxim Shostakovich conducted a private rehearsal of his father’s Tenth Symphony in Manchester with the student orchestra of the Royal Northern College of Music. No audience was present, and no concert performance was planned to follow the rehearsal. In exhorting the orchestra to play the second movement with greater attack, he explained that the music was a portrait of Stalin. Aware of his previous sceptical attitude towards *Testimony*, it seemed to me at the time that his apparent acceptance of one of the more radical of *Testimony*’s disclosures was as significant as his unexpected support for the overall ‘basis of the book’.⁵⁰⁴

twenty years later, make greater sense: ‘no one has yet guessed what the symphony is about. It’s about Stalin and the Stalin years’. Moreover, the confrontation in the last movement between a ‘wild hurricane’ and DSCH in Yakubov’s interpretation seems ludicrous.

⁵⁰¹ *Stern*, 14 May 1981, p. 276; emphasis added: ‘Aber auch in seinen Symphonien hat er die Sowjetmacht verherrlicht’. ‘Das ist absoluter Quatsch. Wer was von den Symphonien meines Vaters versteht, weiss, dass es dort keinerlei Kompromisse gibt. *Im zweiten Teil der 10. Symphonie von 1953 wird das schreckliche Gesicht von Stalin beschrieben*. Viele Kollegen haben das Wer[k] als “pessimistisch” angeklagt. Andere Werke sind der Revolution gewidmet, die ein globales Ereignis war’.

⁵⁰² Email from Clarke, 29 March 2005. Mavis Fox, the College’s orchestra manager at the time, noted the date of this rehearsal in one of her diary entries.

⁵⁰³ Email from Clarke, 5 December 2004.

⁵⁰⁴ MacDonald, *The New Shostakovich*, rev. edn., p. 377, note 21.

Given Maxim's contradictory statements, the explanation for his refusal to confirm the Stalin reference in 1998 may be found in Pasles's follow-up article on Maxim a week later, which Fay fails to mention. In this material, Pasles notes that

Maxim Shostakovich won't discuss *any* hidden political meanings in his father's music. 'I never explain music', he said. 'If I did, I couldn't conduct. What I can say is the beginning [of the Tenth] is slow and soft, then it gets loud and fast. I couldn't explain music further. I'm not a musicologist. I can only conduct. I'm not a writer'.⁵⁰⁵

Another reference to the 'portrait of Stalin' may be found on the 'Voice of Russia' website, where Olga Fyodorova writes:

For several years, this outstanding symphonist just didn't dare to work in his favorite genre, he dissipated his talents writing incidental music. Now that Stalin was dead, he was finally back at real work writing a symphony, already his tenth. 'I wanted to paint a horrible portrait of the Stalin era — of the totalitarian machine that suppressed our thoughts and paralyzed our will, generated fear and immorality, killed millions of innocent people and took out the most talented, the most intelligent people of this country', Shostakovich told a friend many years afterwards. In 1953, however, he reserved any comment on his new symphony . . .⁵⁰⁶

This quotation is even more pointed and detailed than what is in *Testimony*. Unfortunately Fyodorova does not identify the name of 'the friend' and, when contacted, would only say that 'on more than one occasion' she quoted from Isaak Glikman and other Russian-language books.⁵⁰⁷

Unlike Fay, other scholars have not rejected the 'portrait of Stalin' idea out of hand. Hakobian notes:

A special symbolic significance may be ascribed to the Allegretto's opening thematic idea which is derived from the principal theme of the

⁵⁰⁵ Chris Pasles, 'He Was a Creator; I Am an Interpreter: Music Conductor Maxim Shostakovich Says He Doesn't Seek Political Meaning in His Famous Father's Tenth Symphony', *Los Angeles Times/Calendar*, Orange County edition, 9 December 1998, p. 1; emphasis added. Here Maxim adopts his father's usual practice of limiting comments on his music to 'louder, softer, slower, faster' (*cf.* Ardov, p. 35, and *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 389). Irina Shostakovich has adopted a similar practice of downplaying the political aspects of Shostakovich's music: 'You know, it does not matter. That time is in the past. Historians may be interested in it, but when people now listen to his music, they probably do not think whether he was a loyal Communist or an anti-Communist. Scarcely do they think of Stalin or Khrushchev. Music is equally tied to the present' (Sirén, 'Irina Šostakovitš avaa vihdoin kotinsa'), p. C 1.

⁵⁰⁶ Olga Fyodorova, 'Russian Musical Highlights of the 20th Century: 1953 and 1957', on the Internet at the *Voice of Russia* website <<http://www.vor.ru/century/1953m.html>> and <<http://www.vor.ru/century/1957m.html>>.

⁵⁰⁷ Emails received from Tanya Stukova, 12 July 2000, and Elena Osipova, 30 May 2005, The Voice of Russia World Service, Letters Department.

‘Stalin’ scherzo and had previously been used by Shostakovich at least twice: in the fast scherzo-like second movement of the Violin Concerto Opus 77, composed, probably, in the most somber winter or spring days of 1948, and in the Fifth String Quartet Opus 92 dated from the autumn of 1952. A decade and a half later, Shostakovich would ‘decode’ the meaning of this motif introducing its somewhat deformed (though easily recognizable) version into the eighth movement of the Fourteenth Symphony, Reply to the Zaporozhean Cossacks to the Sultan of Constantinople (to verses by G. Apollinaire), just after the initial stanza⁵⁰⁸: ‘more criminal than barabbas // horned like the evil angels // what beelzebub are you down there // fed on garbage and dirt // we shall not come to your sabbath’. Taking into consideration all these contexts, one can read the thematic idea in question as a symbol of some sort of evil, anti-human force. Significantly, the DSCH configuration shows a certain similarity to this ‘motif of the evil’, thus being indirectly associated with the theme of the ‘Stalin’ scherzo. Throughout the Allegretto, the ‘motif of evil’ and the DSCH motif interact, often entering in antagonistic relations — while the ‘Elmira’ motif, as a symbol of the passive feminine principle, remains unchanged (in the course of the movement, it is 12 times intoned by French horn, always on the same pitch).⁵⁰⁹

Volkov also offers some valuable insights into the meaning of this work:

The Tenth Symphony has a clear ‘subplot’: confrontation between artist and tyrant. The wild, frightening Scherzo (the second movement), which overwhelms the listener, is a musical portrait of Stalin. Shostakovich himself told me this, and later it was confirmed by Maxim, his son. But the main evidence that this interpretation is not his later invention can be found, as usual, in the music of Shostakovich, the great master of hidden motifs and quotations and juxtapositions of rhythmic figures. The ‘Stalin’ part of the Tenth Symphony is based in great part on Shostakovich’s music for the film *Fall of Berlin* (1949), in which the ruler was a prominent character.

[. . .] In the Tenth Symphony, this musical author’s monogram [DSCH] does not simply float to the surface; it literally fills the work, becoming its central theme. And Shostakovich pits it (in the finale)

⁵⁰⁸ A reference to measures 8–10 after rehearsal 110. Apparently, this is not so ‘easily recognizable’ as Hakobian thought. Volkov, in *Shostakovich and Stalin*, p. 276, mentioned the very same connection and was ridiculed by Fairclough, p. 459: ‘In a last-ditch attempt to link the Tenth Symphony’s scherzo to a concrete anti-authoritarian statement, Volkov claims that the Fourteenth Symphony’s “Response of the Zaporozhian Cossacks” is a “grotesque portrait of Stalin”, “reminiscent of the ‘Stalin’ scherzo from the Tenth Symphony”. Again, the resemblance simply isn’t there; only the vicious string chords recall the scherzo’s opening bars’.

⁵⁰⁹ Hakobian, pp. 225–26.

against the ‘Stalin’ theme when that reappears on the horizon. This is a direct duel in which the Shostakovich theme wins.⁵¹⁰

Volkov’s exegesis of the music answers Gittleman’s question above about the significance of the battle between the DSCH motive and the scherzo music. Is this a duel between the composer and the tyrant or, as Yakubov and others would have it, Shostakovich battling a force of nature such as a hurricane?⁵¹¹ Volkov also links the Tenth Symphony with Shostakovich’s score for Mikhail Chiaureli’s film *The Fall of Berlin*, a work given no attention in Fay’s book other than its dates of composition and release.⁵¹² What exactly are the ties between these works? The film score was completed in 1949. It not only features Stalin as a prominent character, but the film was intended as Mosfilm’s seventieth birthday present to Stalin and it received a Stalin Prize (First Class) in 1950.⁵¹³ Indeed, one could say that this work has ‘Stalin’ written all over it, and Shostakovich may well have thought that people would recognize the allusions to this film, which ‘became the central event in soviet cinematography’ and ‘enjoyed saturation coverage in the Soviet press’,⁵¹⁴ in his Tenth Symphony. Given the composer’s love of quotations and cross-references in other works, before and after, such as the Fifth Symphony, Eighth Quartet, and Viola Sonata, it is plausible that the links between film and symphony are more than coincidental.⁵¹⁵ Even Fanning acknowledges that analysis of the structure of the Tenth’s *scherzo* ‘is consistent with the “portrait of Stalin” view in *Testimony*’. He also believes that ‘the overlap of hermeneutics and analysis is a healthy one, and for all the risks of subjectivity and bogus scholarship it entails, it certainly beckons invitingly to anyone seriously engaged with Shostakovich’s music’.⁵¹⁶

Volkov is not alone in recognizing similarities between the film score and symphony. In 1954, a year after the Tenth was completed and while *The Fall of Berlin* was still fresh in people’s minds, Iosif Rizhkin, in *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, suggested that the

⁵¹⁰ Volkov, pp. 257–58. He goes on to suggest on pp. 274 and 276 that the composer may even have referred back to music reminiscent of the ‘Stalin’ scherzo in his Thirteenth Symphony, ‘Fears’, and Fourteenth Symphony, VIII.

⁵¹¹ Cf. note 500 above.

⁵¹² Fay, pp. 170 and 350.

⁵¹³ Riley, *Shostakovich: A Life in Film*, I. B. Tauris, London, 2005, p. 68 (hereafter Riley); Fay, p. 171; and Wilson, 2nd edn., pp. 277–78.

⁵¹⁴ Zak, ‘Muradeli on “The One Who Doesn’t Like Me”’, p. 9, and John Riley, review of the DVD release of *The Fall of Berlin* on International Historic Films 22855, *DSCH Journal*, 27, July 2007, p. 76, respectively.

⁵¹⁵ In ‘The Riddle of Shostakovich’s Viola Sonata, Op. 147’, *Shostakovich 100* symposium, Deptford Town Hall, London, 27 September 2006, Ivan Sokolov demonstrated that measures 66–90 of the Viola Sonata include brief quotations (usually of the opening themes) from each of Shostakovich’s symphonies except, apparently, No. 11 (cf. Richard Pleak’s detailed summary in *DSCH Journal*, 26, January 2007, p. 20, and Mishra, p. 312). Riley, p. 69, also notes that in *The Fall of Berlin* itself, ‘the Nazis’ shattering of the Soviet idyll brings a chunk of the Seventh Symphony’s march’.

⁵¹⁶ Fanning, *The Breath of the Symphonist: Shostakovich’s Tenth*, Royal Musical Association, London, 1988, p. 44, and ‘Shostakovich in Harmony’, Bartlett (ed.), *Shostakovich in Context*, p. 38. Koço, p. 67, also recalls Fanning in November 1997, on the occasion of a performance of the Tenth at the University of Leeds, stating that ‘he was of the same mind about the symphony and its coded meanings’ as that presented in *Testimony*, even if ‘he could not accept the authenticity of Volkov’s work’.

second subject of the first movement is based on the concentration camp sequence of the film and that the main theme of the scherzo is derived from No. 5 of the film suite ('Attack on the Seelow Heights').⁵¹⁷ Moreover, Fanning links the 'crisis chord' of the first movement with No. 6 ('In the Destroyed Village') of the film suite⁵¹⁸ while Orlov relates figure 153 of the Symphony's finale to No. 4 of the film suite ('In the Garden').⁵¹⁹ Riley, too, has acknowledged ties between these works:

[Shostakovich] also wrote a miniature double-piano concerto for The Storming of the Seelow Heights [. . .]. The material was reworked for the second movement of the Tenth Symphony, turning a glorious military engagement into what has been described as 'a gigantic whirlwind overtaking a community'. [. . .] Shostakovich took no part in the music editing, which is extremely crude with rapid fades up and down and cuts at painfully inappropriate moments. Ignoring the film, he developed some of its ideas in the Preludes and Fugues and Tenth Symphony [. . .]. He was inspired by Ivan and Natasha's courtship; she quotes Pushkin but he does not recognise it and responds with Mayakovsky. In his *Four Monologues on Verses by Pushkin* (1952) Shostakovich set the same poem, What is My Name to You?, quietly asking to be remembered after death and the following year took some of the music over into his Tenth Symphony.⁵²⁰

His last point is an interesting one. The Tenth not only borrows music from the film score, but includes a passing reference, in the first movement, to the second *Pushkin Monologue*, the text of which, 'What is My Name to You?', is also quoted in *The Fall of Berlin's* courtship scene of Ivan and Natasha. In the Tenth Symphony, this material may allude to Shostakovich's own genuine, if momentary, interest in his student Elmira Nazirova. As Nelly Kravetz has revealed, both of their names appear in this work: the famous DSCM motive and, in the third movement, an Elmira theme (E-la-mi-re-la, or the notes E-A-E-D-A).⁵²¹

⁵¹⁷ Iosif Rizhkin, 'Znachitel'noe yavlenie sovetskoi muzyki' ('The Importance of Soviet Music'), *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, 6, 1954, p. 128, and an abridged English translation as 'Shostakovich's Tenth Symphony', *SCR [Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR] Music Section Bulletin*, i/3, August 1954, pp. 12–16. This observation also has been made by Thomas Rübenaeker in his notes to Capriccio CD 10 405: 'the *Attack* that comes next unleashes powers that point towards the composer's "heroic" Tenth Symphony'.

⁵¹⁸ Fanning, *The Breath of the Symphonist*, pp. 79–80.

⁵¹⁹ 'Fifty Years Ago: Summer 1949', *DSCM Journal*, 11, Summer 1999, p. 50.

⁵²⁰ Riley, p. 71.

⁵²¹ Shostakovich mentioned the 'Elmira' motive in a letter to Nazirova dated 29 August 1953 (cf. Nelly Kravetz, 'New Insights into the Tenth Symphony', in Bartlett (ed.), *Shostakovich in Context*, pp. 161–62). This relates to something else said in *Testimony*, p. 141, about the Tenth: that besides being about 'Stalin and the Stalin years [. . .] there are many other things in it' (cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 168 and 183–84).

Regarding the allusion to the *Pushkin Monologue* mentioned by Wilson, p. 247, Mishra, p. 198, acknowledges that 'although the song (in particular, the piano part) contains similar stepwise writing, also in a moderate triple meter context, this hardly amounts to a quotation. Nevertheless, the very act of prefacing the Tenth Symphony, Shostakovich's first symphonic work in eight years, with the *Four Pushkin*

Finally, the phrase ‘a portrait of Stalin’ and its application to the Tenth Symphony may stem from a memorable occasion during the composition of the work. Glikman, in a note to Shostakovich’s letter of 14 October 1952, recalls:

In order to help Shostakovich achieve deeper understanding of these works [*Marxism and Questions of Linguistics* and *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*], a tutor [Comrade Troshin⁵²²] was assigned to visit him at home in order to enlighten him about the revelations they contained. [. . .]

I happened to be staying with Shostakovich when he was awaiting, not without a certain nervousness, the arrival of his mentor. [. . .]

The visitor carefully surveyed the composer’s study and praised its general arrangement, but then with an apologetic smile voiced his surprise that there was no portrait of Comrade Stalin to be seen on the walls. Time stood still. Shostakovich, embarrassed by the terrible solecism he had committed — began to pace nervously up and down the room, stammering something to the effect that he would immediately acquire a portrait of Comrade Stalin. (The promise was not fulfilled, if for no other reason than that before long portraits of Stalin had rather gone out of fashion.)⁵²³

One can imagine the phrase ‘a portrait of Stalin’ echoing in Shostakovich’s mind during work on the Tenth and, upon its completion, the composer feeling a special satisfaction. ‘Where is my portrait of Stalin, Comrade Troshin?’ ‘*This* is my “portrait of Stalin!”’

3. Nos. 11–12: Errors About . . .

a. *Fiddler*

After *Shostakovich Reconsidered* was published, Alexander Dunkel, the U. S. State Department representative who accompanied the composer during his last visit to the USA in 1973, informed Allan Ho that when he first read the memoirs he had wondered about still another passage: ‘The last time I was in America I saw the film *Fiddler on the Roof* [. . .].’⁵²⁴ Dunkel was with Shostakovich the majority of the time,

Monologues is possibly significant in that it parallels the prefacing of that other “landmark” symphony, the Fifth (1937), with the *Four Pushkin Romances*’.

In 2007, Nazirova clarified her relationship with Shostakovich: “I am disappointed by musicologists who assume from these letters that we were romantically involved”, says Nazirova. So you were not? “There was nothing between us. He never even held my hand. He wasn’t that kind of person. It seems I was a kind of ideal for him, a muse, a symbol of beauty and musical inspiration. And after the 10th Symphony, I apparently became very important to him, because its success was a turning point in his life, and he saw me as part of that”. He never spoke of his feelings for you? He never wrote about them? “Never”, says Nazirova’ (Noam Ben Zeev, ‘Shostakovich’s Muse’, *Haaretz*, 2 April 2007, on the Internet at <http://www.haaretz.com/weekend/week-s-end/shostakovich-s-muse-1.217242>).

⁵²² Identified by Galina Shostakovich in Ardov, p. 84.

⁵²³ *Story of a Friendship*, pp. 253–54, note 83.

⁵²⁴ *Testimony*, p. 158.

coordinated his schedule hour-by-hour, and was certain that the composer did *not* see the film in the USA.⁵²⁵ Was this a ‘mistake’ in *Testimony*?

It turns out that Shostakovich did see *Fiddler* on that trip, but during a stopover in England.⁵²⁶ This was confirmed by Irina Shostakovich to Dunkel c.1996, when he asked her about this viewing. Clearly, the basis for Shostakovich’s statement in *Testimony* is sound, even if the composer did not see the film ‘in America’, but on the way there. His interest in this film also reflects his longtime fascination with Jewish music in general.

b. and the Boeuf

At our press conference for *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, a film historian questioned *Testimony*’s mention of a ‘burning cow’ scene in Tarkovsky’s *Andrey Rublyov*. The former did not recall seeing this in the film, yet Shostakovich describes it in disturbing detail:

Setting fire to animals is horrible. But unfortunately, these things happen even in our day. A talented director, a young man, was making a film and he decided that what he needed in this film was a cow engulfed in flames. But no one was willing to set fire to a cow — not the assistant director, not the cameraman, no one. So the director himself poured kerosene over the cow and set fire to her. The cow ran off bawling, a living torch, and they filmed it.⁵²⁷

In researching this ‘error’, we discovered that three different versions of *Rublyov* existed, ranging from 200 to 186 minutes. The truncated versions, made by Tarkovsky himself, were intended to lessen the violence.⁵²⁸ We also found evidence to corroborate not only

⁵²⁵ Email from Dunkel, 10 August 1998.

⁵²⁶ Wilson, 2nd edn., p. 496, notes that while in London, Shostakovich and Irina also attended a performance of Andrew Lloyd-Webber’s *Jesus Christ Superstar*. ‘It has very good music, very good music’, he opined.

⁵²⁷ *Testimony*, p. 15. Volkov, in a footnote, identifies the film as *Rublyov*.

⁵²⁸ In an interview with Michel Ciment and Luda and Jean Schnitzer, Tarkovsky stated:

First of all, nobody ever cut anything from my film. I’m the one who made cuts. The film’s first version was three hours and twenty minutes long. The second was, three hours fifteen. The last version was reduced by me to three hours and six minutes. I declare, and I insist on this point — it’s my very sincere opinion — that the last version is the best one, the most accomplished, the ‘good’ one according to me. [. . .] We did shorten certain scenes containing violence, in order to create a psychological shock instead of a painful impression which would have gone against our aims. All my comrades and fellow filmmakers who, during lengthy discussions, would advise me to make those cuts, were right (‘L’artiste dans l’ancienne Russie et dans l’URSS nouvelle (Entretien avec Andrei Tarkovsky)’, *Positif* 109, October 1969; included in John Gianvito (ed.), *Andrei Tarkovsky: Interviews*, transl. Susana Rossberg, University Press of Mississippi, Jackson, 2006, p. 29).

In another interview with Aleksandr Lipkov, Tarkovsky adds:

I know why you mention this. It’s all because of those rumors . . . We didn’t burn the cow: she was covered in asbestos. And we took the horse from the slaughterhouse. If we didn’t kill her that day, she would have been killed the next day in the same way. We

the burning cow scene and other abuse of animals in the film,⁵²⁹ but that Shostakovich saw it. Although Shostakovich never worked directly with Tarkovsky, when the latter encountered problems over *Rublyov* in 1966, Shostakovich, together with Grigory Kozintsev, helped him get the film approved.⁵³⁰ Tarkovsky hoped the composer would also enlist Solzhenitsyn's support. When the director ran into problems with *Zerkalo* (*The Mirror*) in 1974, he again turned to the composer.⁵³¹

The correspondence between Tarkovsky and Kozintsev further documents (1) the director's desire to show *Rublyov* to Shostakovich to gain his help in having it released in theaters, and (2) that this took place in 1970, just before work on *Testimony* began.⁵³²

[15 January 1970, Kozintsev to Tarkovsky]: Today I saw D. D. Shostakovich and told him a lot about 'Rublyov'. It seems it would make sense to show the film to him.

If you like this idea, call him — he will see it with pleasure; I told Dmitry Dmitrievich that I will write to you and give his phone number.⁵³³

[18 February 1970, Tarkovsky to Kozintsev]: I think I found a way to show (in secret!) the film to Shostakovich. If I manage to do so, I will write you.⁵³⁴

[20 March 1970, Kozintsev to Tarkovsky]: Dmitry Dmitriyevich liked your film very much. But, apparently what happened is that he saw it at the same time when his health turned for the worse. Almost immediately

did not think up any special torments, so to speak, for the horse ('The Passion According to Andrei', *Literaturnoe obozrenie*, 1988; English translation on the Internet at <<http://www.acs.ucalgary.ca/~tstronds/nostalghia.com/TheTopics/PassionacctoAndrei.html>>).

⁵²⁹ These scenes are included in Criterion's 1999 DVD release of *Rublyov*. Warwick C. Brown, in a review of this release on the Internet at <www.amazon.ca/exec/obidos/ASIN/6305257450/imdbca-20/702-8286495-3861608>, wrote: 'I am utterly repulsed by the three barbaric acts of animal torture. Seeing a cow run around its enclosure after being set on fire, a horse fall down some steps, breaking its leg and then have a spear shoved through its throat and a dog being beaten to death and watching its final twitching make this film ultim[ately] unwatchable'.

⁵³⁰ The entry for 21 September 1970 in Tarkovsky's diary ascribes credit for the film's domestic approval to Kosygin, Kozintsev, and Shostakovich. Cf. V. Fomin, *Andrey Rublyov. Polka, No. 2, Zapreshchennye fil'my: Dokumenty. Svidetel'stva. Kommentarii (Andrey Rublyov. Polka, No. 2, Forbidden Films: Documents, Testimonies, Commentary)*, NII kinoiskusstva, Moscow, 1993, p. 61 (hereafter Fomin), and the Italian translation in *Diari*, 2002, p. 55.

⁵³¹ Natasha Synessios, *Mirror*, Tauris, London, 2001, p. 38, and Andrei Tarkovsky, *Time within Time: The Diaries, 1970-1986*, transl. Kitty Hunter Blair, Seagull, Calcutta, 1991, p. 97.

⁵³² We would like to thank Professor Robert Bird, author of *Andrei Rublev*, British Film Institute, London, 2004, for assistance in locating these documents.

⁵³³ Andrei Tarkovsky and Grigory Kozintsev, 'Iz perepiski Tarkovskogo s Kozintsevym (1969–1972 gg.)' ('From the Correspondence of Tarkovsky with Kozintsev, 1969–1972'), ed. V. G. Kozintseva, *Iskusstvo kino*, 6, 1987, p. 96.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 98. For more on the Soviet censorship of *Andrey Rublyov*, leading to its withdrawal and re-editing, cf. Solomon Volkov's *The Magical Chorus: A History of Russian Culture from Tolstoy to Solzhenitsyn*, transl. Antonina W. Bouis, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2008, pp. 232–34.

he left for Kurgan, where he is treated by Dr. Ilizarov (the same doctor who healed Brumel'). He is better now. I am in correspondence with him, and that is how I know his attitude toward 'Rublyov', and I relate it to you with pleasure.⁵³⁵

Finally, Tarkovsky, in a letter of 14 September 1970, noted: 'N. Zorkaia told me that Dm. Dm. Shostakovich wrote someone a letter in defense of "Rublyov". If this is so, I would think it is time to send it'.⁵³⁶

4. Nos. 13–15: Errors Cited by Other Scholars

a. Gogol's 'St. Vladimir Third Grade'

In *Testimony*, p. 206, Shostakovich makes an interesting comment about Gogol's 'Vladimir tret'ei stepeni':

Preis wrote Gogol's comedy *St. Vladimir Third Grade* for him. As you know, Gogol didn't finish the play, he only left rough sketches, and Sasa wrote the play. He didn't just write whatever came into his head, no, he put it together all from Gogol's words. He didn't add a single word of his own, he got every line from Gogol's works. It's astonishing. The man worked scrupulously. I read the manuscript. After each bit of dialogue, there's a reference for the source, the Gogol work from which it came. For example, if someone says, 'Dinner is served,' the footnote tells you the work and page number.

Recently, a musicologist in Russia called attention to a passage in Aleksey Panteleyev's book *Talk with a Reader* that attributes the authorship of 'St. Vladimir Third Grade' to Georgy Ionin rather than to Aleksandr Preis.⁵³⁷ Lest *Testimony's* detractors rush to cite this as still another error in *Testimony* and to question Shostakovich's 'superior memory', it is worth noting that Bakhtin and Lur'e, in their standard reference source on Leningrad writers, attribute the authorship of 'St. Vladimir Third Grade' to none other than Preis.⁵³⁸ Moreover, when asked about this comedy, Yury Mann, the leading authority on Gogol, stated that he was unaware of any completion of the work by Ionin. He was, however, able to corroborate what is said in *Testimony* and to provide additional details:

⁵³⁵ *Iskusstvo kino*, 6, 1987, p. 99.

⁵³⁶ Fomin, p. 60.

⁵³⁷ Aleksey Ivanovich Panteleyev, *Razgovor s chitatelem (Talk with a Reader)*, quoted on the Internet at <<http://www.classic-book.ru/lib/al/book/1017>>. Panteleyev reports that 'While a student, he [Ionin] devoted a lot of time to literature, wrote a novel, plays, and along with the young composer D. Shostakovich he worked on the libretto of the opera *Nose*, and wrote a play called "Vladimir tret'ei stepeni" based on Gogol'.

⁵³⁸ Vladimir Solomonovich Bakhtin and Aron Naumovich Lur'e, *Pisateli Leningrada. Biobibliograficheskiy Spravochnik. 1934–1981 (Leningrad Writers. Bio-Bibliographical Dictionary. 1934–1981)*, Leninizdat, Leningrad, 1982, p. 250.

The text of ‘Vladimir tret’ei stepeni’ compiled by A. Ia. Preis, besides the fragments and scenes that relate to that comedy, included speeches and phrases from other works by Gogol — ‘Dead Souls’, ‘The Overcoat’, ‘Marriage’, etc. In general the result was a montage. The play was produced in 1932 in the branch of the Teatr Gosdrama. The text has perhaps been preserved in some theater archive or other, but neither I nor any of the specialists I know have conducted such investigations.⁵³⁹

Considering that this information is extremely difficult to locate and that other Gogol and Russian literature experts we contacted knew nothing of Preis’s completion, it is highly unlikely that the young Volkov would have been aware of this material on his own.

b. Soviet National Anthems with Khachaturian

In *Testimony*, pp. 256–63, Shostakovich gives a detailed account of his collaboration with Aram Khachaturian to compose a new Soviet national anthem for a competition ordered by Stalin in August 1943. As noted in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 252–55, this material closely parallels Khachaturian’s own recollection of events documented in Khentova’s ‘Shostakovich i Khachaturian: Ikh sblizil 1948-i god’, *Muzykal’naya Zhizn’* 24, 1988, p. 11, later included in Wilson’s *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered* (1994), pp. 179–81. Since Khachaturian died in 1978, before *Testimony* was published, it is highly unlikely that the Shostakovich memoirs could have influenced his version of what happened; and since Khachaturian’s account was published only in 1988, it is even less likely that Volkov could have had access to that material before *Testimony* was typed in 1974.

We also noted in *Shostakovich Reconsidered* that Wilson completely ignores the similarities in the accounts given in *Testimony* and Khentova’s article,⁵⁴⁰ and merely calls attention to their major difference: that the former says that Shostakovich orchestrated the joint anthem and the latter attributes that task to Khachaturian. Unfortunately, Wilson, in the second edition of her book (2006), Fay in *Shostakovich: A Life* (2000), p. 316, note 65, and Mishra in *A Shostakovich Companion* (2008), pp. 530–31, note 84, remain content merely to note the discrepancy without rendering any verdict as to which source is correct or at least more plausible. The pertinent question is, *does an orchestration of this anthem exist in Khachaturian’s hand or in Shostakovich’s hand?* To date, no full score of the work by Khachaturian has been located. It is not mentioned in D. M. Person’s *A. Khachaturian: noto-bibliograficheskii spravochnik* (Moscow, 1979) or

⁵³⁹ Email from Yury Mann to Allan Ho, 29 October 2006. Two other sources that briefly describe Preis’s completion are Sergey Danilov’s *Gogol i teatr*, Gosudarstvennoye izdatel’stvo Khudozhestvennaya Literatura, Leningrad, 1936, p. 270, and the same author’s article ‘Gogol’ v instsenirovkhakh’ in Vasily Gippius’s *N. V. Gogol’. Materialy i issledovaniia*, Vol. 2, Izdatel’stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, Moscow, 1936, pp. 459 and 463. We especially thank Professor Mann for sharing his expertise with us and Professor Susanne Fusso of Wesleyan University, Connecticut, for putting us in contact with him, translating his response, and helping us to find this needle in the haystack.

⁵⁴⁰ Another version of these events, reported by Lev Lebedinsky in ‘Iz bessistemnikh zapisey’, *Muzykal’naya Zhizn’*, 21–22, 1993, p. 28, is closer to that in *Testimony* than that in Khentova’s interview.

in more recent catalogues of his complete works.⁵⁴¹ It also is absent from *Aram Khachaturian: Collected Works in Twenty-Four Volumes* (Muzyka, Moscow, 1982–91). The joint anthem supposedly orchestrated by Khachaturian utilized words by Mikhail Golodny, making the ‘Song about the Red Army’ the most likely candidate. About the latter, Hulme, in his *Shostakovich: A Catalogue, Bibliography, and Discography*, pp. 229–30, writes: ‘the first eight bars of the melody written by Khachaturyan, the remainder by *Shostakovich, who orchestrated the anthem*’.⁵⁴² Shostakovich also orchestrated another version of their collaborative work, this time with text by Sergey Mikhalkov and Gabriel El-Registan. This unpublished *Hymn of the SSSR* in the Glinka Museum was again notated by Shostakovich and has both composers’ names at the top right, written in Shostakovich’s hand (*cf.* the facsimile below).⁵⁴³

⁵⁴¹ *Cf.* ‘To the 100th Anniversary: Aram Khachaturian’, on the Internet at <<http://www.armeniadiaspora.com/events/aram100/music.html>> and *Aram Khatchatourian: A Complete Catalogue*, Les Editions du Chant du monde, at <www.chantdumonde.com/Publisheditions/catalog/8/CATAKHATCHAV.ANGL1.pdf>. However, these do mention a voice and piano score of the Shostakovich-Khachaturian ‘Song about the Red Army’.

⁵⁴² Pauline Fairclough says the same thing in ‘*Slava! The “Official Compositions”*’, *Cambridge Companion to Shostakovich*, p. 262 (hereafter Fairclough, ‘*Slava!*’).

⁵⁴³ Hulme, p. 230, Fairclough, ‘*Slava!*’, pp. 263 and 380, note 14.

c. 'A Maiden's Wish'

In *Shostakovich in Context*, p. 211, note 52, Rosamund Bartlett questions the subtitle given in *Testimony* to Gaetano Braga's 'Serenade', which plays an important role in 'The Black Monk' and which Shostakovich arranged in September 1972. She writes:

It is curious that the serenade is referred to in *Testimony* (p. 224) as 'A Maiden's Prayer', which is the name of a popular piece for piano by the 19th-cent. Polish composer Badarzewska (1838–62), and is one of the pieces of music to be heard in *The Three Sisters*, Chekhov's third play, written six years after the composition of 'The Black Monk'.

It is worth noting that here Bouis's English translation is in error: 'Braga's serenade, "A Maiden's Prayer," plays an important part in *The Black Monk*'. The passage in the Russian text (Heikinheimo typescript, p. 322) actually reads: 'Braga's serenade has a special role in "The Black Monk"'. It is three paragraphs later that Shostakovich adds: 'And Chekhov, he too was affected by this music, this 'girl's [maiden's] prayer'. Otherwise he would have not written so about it. So affectionately'. This 'girl's prayer', thus, may not be a subtitle at all, but rather a reference to the girl in the song and the religious imagery of its text.⁵⁴⁴

⁵⁴⁴ According to Bartlett, *Shostakovich in Context*, p. 211, Chekhov described the song as concerning a 'girl with a disturbed imagination [who] one night hears some mysterious sounds which are so beautiful and strange that she is forced to acknowledge them as a divine harmony which we mortals cannot understand'. Better known as the 'Angel's Serenade', the text reads as follows (Carl Fischer, New York, 1918):

What tones are those that are softly and sweetly playing,
Did'st hear them mother, as on the wind's pinions they're straying;
Pray tell me, mother, whence those heavenly sounds proceed?

Calm thee, my darling, I hear no voice as you!
Only the Zephyrs floating by, Only the moon uprising,
Of that sweet song, poor flow'ret weak and fading,
Who could have sung it for thee?

No! No! No! Ah! No! for it was no earthly melody,
That did awake me, so sweetly and so tender;
It more resembled the sound of angels singing,
To join their legions they're calling, calling me,
Farewell, my dearest mother,
Sweet angels, I follow thee!

7. An Error about the Eighth Symphony

Testimony, like any set of memoirs, contains its share of errors.⁵⁴⁵ However, even these minor mistakes can indirectly hint at the authenticity of the text. Consider the following passage from page 197 that has been quoted by others, but without mention of its factual inaccuracy: ‘So what if I inform you that in my Eighth Symphony, in the fourth movement, in the fourth variation in measures four through six, the theme is harmonized with seven descending minor triads? Who cares?’ As Raymond Clarke perceptively observes:

Shostakovich’s reference to the score is imprecise, as the passage to which he is referring is in the *eleventh* variation (i.e., the twelfth appearance of the theme, if one counts the second appearance of the theme as the first variation), it comes in bars *three* to six, there are only *four* descending triads, and they are *major*. Despite this imprecision, there is no ambiguity about which passage the composer is referring to. If anti-revisionists had noticed these mistakes, they would claim, ‘Of course Shostakovich didn’t write this — he wouldn’t have made so many errors in talking about his own music’. But if Volkov had forged *Testimony*, it would have been natural for him to make it as watertight as possible, and if he had intended to make a reference to a passage in a Shostakovich score, he would have ensured that his little puppet Mitya identified it correctly. Although Shostakovich makes four errors in one sentence, I think these errors are plausible in the context of informal speech: moreover, the numerical repetition of ‘fourth movement . . . fourth variation . . . bars four . . .’ suggests that these are *not* genuine errors at all, by which I mean that Shostakovich was probably merely inventing numbers off the cuff, because, in order to make his general point about analysis, it was not essential that the numbers were accurate — after all, at this stage he

⁵⁴⁵ In praising Dubinsky’s *Stormy Applause*, Taruskin writes:

nobody who knows how to read expects documentary veracity from memoirs. Musically informed critics have caught Dubinsky out on many spurious details, much as I caught myself repeatedly in little involuntary lies as I tried to set down a few memoirs of my own above. [. . .]

No memorist worth his salt scruples at the sacrifice of literal truth to something higher. (Russians call that something *khudozhestvennaya pravda*—literally, ‘artistic truth’ — meaning truth to an idea.) For if there were not something higher to motivate memoirs, they would never get written. [. . .] The essential truth of this remarkable book lies in its embittered tone, its self-justifying selectivity, its manifestly biased judgments and skewed perceptions, and, despite frequent hilarity, its evocation of a depression and a disaffection that no amount of commercial or artistic success could assuage (*On Russian Music*, pp. 359-60; emphasis added).

Curiously, he and others ‘who know how to read’ remain blind (or close minded) to the equally essential truth in *Testimony*.

wouldn't have even known for certain whether this comment would be included in the memoirs.⁵⁴⁶

Clarke concludes that 'trivial examples such as this help to authenticate *Testimony*. I don't think any anti-revisionist would seriously propose that, in the 1970s, with no knowledge of whether there would even *be* any future dispute over the authenticity of *Testimony*, let alone the extent of the debate, Volkov would have planted such an "error" in the expectation that someone like me would cite the "error" as proof of Shostakovich's authorship. That level of deception would not have been considered necessary at that time'.⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴⁶ Email from Clarke to Ian MacDonald, 1 February 2002; forwarded by Clarke to the authors, 17 January 2006.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

VI. *Testimony's* 'Deep Throats'⁵⁴⁸

As noted above and in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, many of *Testimony's* most hotly contested and revelatory passages now have been corroborated by other evidence and, in spite of the numerous allegations of errors by Shostakovich scholars such as Fay and Orlov, the text today appears to be more accurate than ever. If we are to believe Irina Shostakovich's claim that Volkov was not close to Shostakovich and had only three brief meetings with him (i.e., insufficient time to yield a 400-page memoir), and if we are to believe Brown's evidence that Volkov had no record as a Shostakovich scholar, one has to wonder how a young journalist, born in 1944 and at the time only twenty-seven to thirty years old, could have fabricated Shostakovich's memoirs so well that the manner of speaking has fooled the composer's children and close friends who have read the Russian text, and even minute details, such as seeing *Fiddler on the Roof* or a momentary 'cow burning' scene, prove to be accurate. How could Volkov be aware of all of the sometimes contradictory aspects of Shostakovich's life and personality, what was on his mind, and the like, even during the composer's early years, long before Volkov was born?⁵⁴⁹ The critics of *Testimony* suggest that Volkov had his own 'deep throats'. But what is the evidence of this?

In *A Shostakovich Casebook*, one finds numerous suggestions of named and unnamed informers. The problem is that not a scintilla of evidence is provided that these had a hand in *Testimony*, and not one person in thirty years has come forward to say that they helped Volkov fabricate the memoirs. Let us examine the 'evidence' (or should we say wild guesses) in *A Shostakovich Casebook* (emphasis added):

(1) Maxim (1982): 'various hearsay and testimonials that did not originate with my father found their way into the book. I know who the originator was, but won't talk about it now'.⁵⁵⁰ To date, Maxim has never revealed the so-called 'originator'. Have Brown and Fay investigated this?

⁵⁴⁸ The nickname of an unidentified insider who helped *Washington Post* journalists Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein unravel the Watergate scandal that eventually led to President Richard M. Nixon's resignation. On 31 May 2005, W. Mark Felt revealed that he was the secret truth-teller immortalized in their book *All the President's Men*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1974.

⁵⁴⁹ Heikinheimo, p. 397, considered the same points (transl. by Lång):

An important conclusion can be drawn from all this fuss and from the comparison between Volkov's two books [*Testimony* and *St. Petersburg: A Cultural History*, which Heikinheimo also translated into Finnish]: Shostakovich's *Testimony* is definitely a genuine work. That was, of course, confirmed in the first place by the many Russian artists who had known him. *Testimony* is the brilliant sharp talk of a genius, while Volkov's book on St. Petersburg is a collage by a mediocre plodder, though a valid source book per se. Khrennikov's main thesis, that Volkov could have forged the entire book of memoirs, is totally absurd: Volkov couldn't ever have achieved something like that. Besides, there are so many details from the time before Volkov's birth, that he couldn't possibly have known anything about those events.

Heddy Pross-Weerth, a scholar in her own right who translated many Russian texts over her long career, voiced a similar opinion in a letter of 22 February 2000:

I had no reason whatsoever to doubt that the memoirs were genuine. Solomon Volkov, who was born in 1944, was certainly in no position credibly to falsify the contemporary

(2) Rostropovich (1986): ‘*perhaps* his [Shostakovich’s] friends were too gossipy and Volkov made use of them’.⁵⁵¹

(3) Sabinina (1992): ‘some of it Volkov *could have heard* from Shostakovich’s students’.⁵⁵²

(4) Nikolskaya (1992): ‘My interlocutor, in saying this, *seems to suggest* that he had a hand in helping Volkov put his book together’.⁵⁵³ This handwritten aside in parentheses on the typescript of her 1992 interview with Lev Lebedinsky refers to his statement ‘Yes, I met Dmitri Dmitrievich quite often and I think he was candid with me. Many of our conversations with him are reflected in Volkov’s book’.⁵⁵⁴

(5) Yakubov (1992): ‘If Volkov weren’t afraid of being exposed, he could become the center of a new sensation even now. But this would entail his confessing what in the book is genuine and what he himself introduced or wrote on the basis of stories told to him by informants in Moscow and Leningrad — informants *such as* that very same Lev Lebedinsky, whom I mentioned earlier, or Leo Arnshtam, among others.⁵⁵⁵ [. . .] I believe that Volkov’s source was a bitter and spiteful individual, *someone such as* Lev Lebedinsky. Volkov *could very well have heard* from Lebedinsky exactly the sort of statements that he attributes to Shostakovich in his book’.⁵⁵⁶

statements and entirely individual reflections of a man 38 years older. The manner of speech, diction, choice of words and educational background are unmistakably those of someone who belonged to the first Soviet generation and couldn’t be emulated by someone from the third generation.

(Ich hatte keinerlei Veranlassung an der Echtheit der Memoiren zu zweifeln. Der erst 1944 geborene Solomon Wolkov war gewiß nicht imstande, zeitgeschichtliche und private Aussagen, sowie ganz individuelle Reflexionen des 38 Jahre Älteren glaubwürdig zu fälschen. Sprachstil, Diktion, Wortwahl und Bildungshintergrund sind unverkennbar die eines Angehörigen der ersten sowjetischen Generation, nicht nachvollziehbar von einem Repräsentanten der dritten Generation.)

Finally, Martti Anhava, a Finnish expert on Russian literature, wrote a review of the second Finnish edition of *Testimony* (titled ‘Todistus’) that was first published in *Parnasso*, 39/4, 1989, pp. 205–13, then reprinted in his book *Professori, piispa ja tyhjyys*, pp. 40–65. He discusses the authenticity of the Shostakovich memoirs in light of Fay’s attacks on it, and after analyzing the style and factual content of *Testimony*, concludes that the book is authentic — that it is highly implausible that Volkov could have forged such a complex book that shows literary mastery, courage, and empathy.

⁵⁵⁰ Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 47.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁵⁵² Nikolskaya, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 155.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 187, note o. Fay again refers to this statement in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 49.

⁵⁵⁴ Nikolskaya, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 171.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 180. Brown again points to Lebedinsky in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 333.

(6) Irina Shostakovich (2000): ‘As for the additions, Mr. Volkov himself told me that he had spoken to a lot of different people about Shostakovich, in particular to Lev Lebedinsky, who later became an inaccurate memoirist and with whom Shostakovich ended all relations a long time before. A friend of Shostakovich’s, Leo Arnshtam, a cinema director, saw Mr. Volkov at his request, and Arnshtam later regretted it. A story about a telephone conversation with Stalin was written from his words’.⁵⁵⁷

Just as Brown has repeated his error about the Fourth Symphony and ‘Muddle Instead of Music’ multiple times without checking his facts (*cf.* pp. 9–10 above), here he prints no less than eight references to informers without questioning the evidence. Two of these ‘deep throats’ are named, so let us consider them in greater detail.

1. Lev Lebedinsky

In her 1992 interview with Lebedinsky, Irina Nikolskaya noted in a handwritten aside rather than in her main text that Lebedinsky ‘allegedly hinted’ at having some involvement in the memoirs.⁵⁵⁸ One wonders what led her to perceive this? Did she, perhaps, misinterpret Lebedinsky’s statement that ‘many of our conversations with him are reflected in Volkov’s book’ to mean conversations between Lebedinsky and Volkov? Clearly, in the context of Lebedinsky’s response, he was referring to his conversations with Shostakovich, which led him to believe in the authenticity of the memoirs.⁵⁵⁹ Or was Nikolskaya influenced by Lebedinsky’s previous statement, that he was willing to sign his name under every word in the memoirs:

I consider this book to be one of the most important publications devoted to the composer. Its authenticity is beyond question. I am prepared to sign my name under every word in the book. It is the truth about Shostakovich.⁵⁶⁰

In her own article, Fay finds that

The compiler’s aside in parentheses — by Irina Nikolskaya, who interviewed Lebedinsky — is remarkable. Evidently she understood the tone of Lebedinsky’s comment as intimating that he had helped Volkov compile *Testimony*.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁷ Irina Shostakovich, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 132.

⁵⁵⁸ In the original publication in *Melos*, 1/4–5, Summer 1993, p. 78, the note reads: ‘(My interlocutor allegedly hints at his own participation in [the] creation of Volkov’s book. Irina Nikolska [sic])’.

⁵⁵⁹ For similar reactions by many others, *cf.* ‘The Ring of Truth’, *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 256–70.

⁵⁶⁰ Nikolskaya, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 171.

⁵⁶¹ Fay, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 49.

Indeed, what is remarkable is that Fay accepts this aside without question. If Nikolskaya genuinely suspected that Lebedinsky was a secret informer who provided Volkov with details he otherwise would not know, why didn't she simply ask the question? In every interview conducted by Nikolskaya for this article, she asked her subjects about their opinion of *Testimony*: 'I asked everyone I interviewed about Solomon Volkov's book'.⁵⁶² Some denounced the memoirs, whereas a few, such as Lebedinsky, stood by it. Are we to believe that Nikolskaya, an experienced interviewer,⁵⁶³ suspected that Lebedinsky was Volkov's collaborator on *Testimony* and did not ask him, point-blank, 'Did you have a hand in the writing of the Shostakovich memoirs?'

One also wonders why neither Fay nor Brown have investigated this, but remain content to repeat what is, in fact, only Nikolskaya's perception of a 'hint' by Lebedinsky. Lebedinsky, as noted in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 272, note 7, was not shy in claiming credit for collaborating with Shostakovich on *Rayok*. Why, then, has no hard evidence emerged over the past thirty years that Lebedinsky had a hand in *Testimony*? No letter has been found to corroborate this, even though Elizabeth Wilson⁵⁶⁴ and others have had access to Lebedinsky's materials. When asked about Lebedinsky, Volkov stated that, on the matter of *Testimony*, he was contacted by the latter only in New York when the publication of the memoirs was announced; that Lebedinsky did not help with *Testimony*; and that Irina Shostakovich's mention of Lebedinsky is motivated by personal anger for disclosing some private information about Irina herself in his 'inaccurate memoirs'.⁵⁶⁵

2. Leo Arnshtam

The notion that Arnshtam was a 'deep throat' is still weaker. Again, no evidence is provided that he worked on the memoirs. Moreover, Irina does not even explain why she believes the story about Stalin phoning Shostakovich in 1949 had to be 'written from his [Arnshtam's] words', especially since he was not present at this event, and both Shostakovich and his first wife Nina are known to have spoken about this call themselves.⁵⁶⁶ When asked about Arnshtam, Volkov stated that he did contact him once

⁵⁶² Nikolskaya, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 151.

⁵⁶³ Cf. Nikolskaya's biographical sketch in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 393.

⁵⁶⁴ In a letter to Allan Ho, 4 October 1994, Wilson mentioned working with material from Lev Lebedinsky's archives. It is unlikely that she would withhold any evidence that Lebedinsky had a hand in *Testimony*.

⁵⁶⁵ If Lebedinsky collaborated with Volkov, one might expect him to appear somewhere in the memoirs. He does not, and Arnshtam receives only a brief mention. Also cf. p. 51 above. Gerald C. Ginther, in *Revisionism in the Music History of Dmitry Shostakovich: The Shostakovich Wars* (thesis: M.A. in Russian, University of Canterbury, 2008), p. 5, asserts that Lebedinsky 'provided much material to Volkov about Shostakovich'. However, he cites no evidence of this other than, on p. 25, quoting Alex Ross's suggestion that Lebedinsky was 'a secondary ghostwriter (of *Testimony*)' (cf. Ross, 'Unauthorized', *The New Yorker* 80/25, 2004, p. 1).

⁵⁶⁶ Cf. pp. 52–53 above and *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 434. Others said to have been present were Yury Levitin (Wilson, p. 212) and Anusya Vilyams (Wilson, 2nd edn., p. 245, note 16; citing Sofiya Khentova, *V mire Shostakovicha (In Shostakovich's World)*, Kompozitor, Moscow, 1996, p. 33; and Krzysztof Meyer, *Shostakovich: Zhizn', Tvorchestvo i Vremya (Shostakovich: Life, Work, and Times)*, p. 295).

to commission an article for *Sovetskaya Muzyka* about film music, but that he doesn't know whether this ever materialized.⁵⁶⁷ Isn't it interesting that both Arnshtam (1905–80) and Lebedinsky (1904–92) were named as collaborators only *after* they were unable to respond? (Although Nikolskaya's interviews with Lebedinsky et al. were conducted between July and December 1992, her article first appeared in summer 1993.) If they were genuinely suspected of being 'deep throats', why were they not contacted by Fay or Brown earlier, while they were alive and could confirm or deny the allegation?

In conclusion, given the fact that absolutely no evidence has emerged in over thirty years to demonstrate that Volkov collaborated with anyone other than Shostakovich himself, it seems clear that *Testimony* is exactly what Volkov has always claimed it to be: the 'Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich as related to and edited by Solomon Volkov'.

⁵⁶⁷ Cf. p. 52 above.

VII. The ‘Rotten Luck’ of ‘perhaps Soviet Russia’s Most Loyal Musical Son’

1. The ‘Rotten Luck/Wrong Folk’ Theory of Laurel E. Fay

Two issues raised in *Shostakovich Reconsidered* have been discussed at length elsewhere, but are worth revisiting here because of several post-publication developments. The first concerns Fay’s conclusion that Shostakovich, at the time he wrote *From Jewish Folk Poetry* (August to October 1948), could have had few ‘hints’ of the growing anti-Semitism in the USSR.⁵⁶⁸ She claims that he was trying to fulfill his

⁵⁶⁸ Cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 222–28, Ian MacDonald’s response to Fay in *DSCH Journal*, 13, July 2000, pp. 45–55, and Mishra, pp. 184–87. In contrast to Fay, Volkov, p. 245, mentions:

In 1942, a secret memorandum appeared written by the Directorate of Propaganda and Agitation of the Party Central Committee ‘On Selection and Promotion of Cadres in Art’, which expressed anxiety over the fact that in culture, the trendsetters were ‘non-Russian people (primarily Jews)’. A special stress was made on the situation in music — at the Bolshoi Theater and the Leningrad and Moscow Conservatories, where, according to the Party functionaries, everything ‘is almost completely in the hands of non-Russian people’. Undoubtedly this document reflected the views of the Party leadership; many job dismissals were made soon after.

Arkady Vaksberg also has written extensively about the growth of anti-Semitism in the USSR, rebutting Fay’s claim that Shostakovich could have had few hints of it at the time *From Jewish Folk Poetry* was composed. Peter McNelly’s detailed summary of Vaksberg’s points (DSCH-list, 7 November 1999; punctuation modified slightly) provides the background ignored by Fay:

Vaksberg argues that the official post-war anti-Semitic campaign in Russia began not in January 1949, but in the summer of 1945. He writes: ‘Probably the first postwar summer should be considered the start of official state anti-Semitism in the USSR, no longer covered by a fig leaf of internationalist declarations’ (p. 143). He bases this statement on an analysis of a widely published and equally widely taught and studied statement by Stalin on May 24, 1945 in the form of a toast to the efforts of the Russian people in the fight against Germany. Stalin said: ‘I drink, first of all, to the health of the Russian people because it is the most outstanding nation of all the nations who belong to the Soviet Union. I raise this toast to the health of the Russian people because it earned in the war general recognition as the leading force of the Soviet Union among all the peoples of our country. I raise this toast to the health of the Russian people not only because it is the leading people but also because it has clear mind, steadfast character and patience’.

Vaksberg argues that it was the use of the phrases ‘leading people’ and ‘most outstanding nation of all the nations who belong to the Soviet Union’ that set the new anti-Semitic campaign in motion by heralding a move away from ‘proletarian internationalism’ in favor of a ‘sharp turn to official great-power politics, to chauvinism’. In other words, toward a view of society where there are ‘leading’ and ‘most outstanding’ peoples, and therefore, by implication, continuing downward on the social scale through less leading, less outstanding peoples and downward still until you reach the ‘rootless cosmopolites’ which was the common term Russian anti-Semites scornfully used when they referred to Jews. It was common language in Russia long before the 1940s.

Vaksberg continues: ‘The main thrust of this toast was aimed at Jews; from long Russian tradition they were not named openly, but this has been presumed and understood silently and unanimously whenever rulers have spouted patriotic terminology. All the Party and government officials of various levels instantly grasped the program in the leader’s speech (which was made mandatory study in Party courses, universities, and

even high schools) as an official instruction to limit (at least for the time being) the promotion of Jews in work and to close access to higher education, if not completely, then significantly' (p. 143). Vaksberg backs up his last point by noting that 'after 1945, only a few Jewish individuals who had outstanding grades (and super persistent parents) managed to get past all the barricades into college'.

As for more general examples of anti-Semitic practice by government and state officials before 1949, Vaksberg tells a story (among others also recounted in his book) of a Jewish photographer who was arrested in 1947 and charged with 'counterrevolutionary agitation and propaganda' and sentenced to 'eight years in the camps'. His crime? Prominently displaying in his studio window the photograph of a Jewish soldier wearing all his medals with the caption: 'Hero of the Soviet Union Lieutenant General Izrail Solomonovich Beskin'. The accused, Abram Noevich Broido, offered in his defense the statement that he displayed the photo more prominently than others in the window (whose portraits did not have captions) because they were 'not so famous' and because his main point was 'giving its due to the Red Army that had saved the world from Fascism'. For this statement, writes Vaksberg, Broido received an additional charge of a 'condescending and scornful attitude toward simple Soviet people'. The court found Broido guilty of 'malicious nationalistic propaganda' and of 'infringements on Stalin's friendships with peoples'. Vaksberg writes: 'Pride in one's heroes was for everyone except Jews. Their pride was considered an infringement on the friendship of peoples — naturally Stalin's friendship, for there could be no other kind' (p. 148). Vaksberg devotes an entire chapter of his book to Mikhoels' murder. In this chapter, we learn that Mikhoels's friends recall that he left on the journey to Minsk 'with great reluctance and very strong forebodings' (p. 164). We learn that Mikhoels told a theatre friend before he left that he had received information that his life was in danger, and that this information had come in the form of an anonymous letter containing a death threat. Vaksberg interprets this 'threat' as a warning, not a real threat; because, he argues, the last thing the secret police would have wanted was to arouse suspicion (p. 165). As for the accident, the official version was that Mikhoels had been run over by a truck and that his body had been badly crushed. But Vaksberg reveals that one of Mikhoels' closest friends, the artist Alexander Tyshler[,] was permitted to see the body before the funeral on January 16. Vaksberg writes: 'He is probably the only man aside from the "experts" to observe the naked body. Tyshler stated that "the body was clean, undamaged"'.

On the day of the funeral, Vaksberg writes, Mikhoels' daughter Natalia Vovsi-Mikhoels received a visit from Yulia Kaganovich, the niece of one of Stalin's most famous and feared henchmen Lazar Kaganovich (virtually the number two man after Stalin in the 1930s and still influential in the late 1940s). Here's Vaksberg's text quoting Natalia on Yulia's visit: 'She led us to the bathroom', recalled Natalia Vovsi-Mikhoels, 'the only room where we could have privacy and said quietly, "Uncle sends his regards . . . and he told me to tell you never to ask anyone about anything". In fact it was not so much a warning as an order' (pp. 170–71).

Returning now to the Mikhoels story: Vaksberg quotes previously secret correspondence to show that Zhdanov was also working behind the scenes as early as February 1947 to destroy the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee (p. 150); and he cites evidence in December 1947 of the arrest and prolonged beating of 'Isaak Goldshtein, doctor of economics, senior researcher at the Economics Institute of the Academy of Sciences' with the purpose to create a set of accusations that the JAC was being used as a 'cover for alleged anti-Soviet nationalistic activity' (p. 155). Goldshtein, who said he was 'beaten cruelly and at length with a rubber truncheon on my soft parts and the bar[e] soles of my feet . . . until I could no longer sit or stand', was given a 25 year sentence in the Gulag. He later talked about being 'forced to sign the transcript' and of having 'fallen into a deep depression, a total moral confusion' when he 'began to give evidence

obligation to write socialist realist music and it was just his ‘rotten luck’ that he chose the ‘wrong folk’. This conclusion is in direct opposition to what Shostakovich says in *Testimony*:

Once after the war I was passing a bookstore and saw a volume with Jewish songs. I was always interested in Jewish folklore, and I thought the book would give the melodies, but it contained only the texts. It seemed to me that if I picked out several texts and set them to music, I would be able to tell about the fate of the Jewish people. *It seemed an important thing to do, because I could see anti-Semitism growing all around me. But I couldn't have the cycle performed then [. . .].*⁵⁶⁹

Who are we to believe, Fay or the memoirs?

In an article in *The New York Times* (14 April 1996), Fay reveals some of the reasoning behind her conclusion. She asserts that Shostakovich read a frontpage editorial in *Pravda* that ‘touted equality and mutual respect for the ethnic cultures of all of the Soviet Union’s constituent nationalities, great and small, as the country’s special and unique strength’⁵⁷⁰ and, like the bamboozled masses, believed it, even though he was a close friend of Weinberg, whose father-in-law was the recently murdered Solomon

against myself and other[s] for serious crimes’. This evidence formed the first part of the case that led [to] the mass arrests of the JAC members a year later.

But the first arrest came on December 28, 1947, just a bit more than two weeks before Mikhoels was murdered, when a JAC committee staff member, Zakhar Grinberg, was taken into custody as a result of Goldshtein’s testimony. Let’s use Fay’s own language and describe this arrest as another ‘hint’. Mikhoels did not leave Moscow for Minsk until January 7. But he would have left town knowing about and being troubled by this arrest (as well as Goldshtein’s arrest, even if he was not in a position to know that Goldshtein’s subsequent torture had created the false evidence against Grinberg).

Finally, why did Stalin want to kill Mikhoels? The United Nations resolution calling for the establishment of the State of Israel was passed on November 29, 1947. Mikhoels was murdered on January 12, 1948, just six weeks later. And as we have seen, the first arrest of a JAC member came on December 28. The wheels were turning quickly. Before the UN resolution, Mikhoels had been publicly associated with a JAC campaign to establish a homeland for Jews inside Russia. This was widely known. Stalin tolerated this fanciful plan because it made the USSR look good in contrast to what Hitler’s Germany was doing to the Jews. But, with a new Jewish homeland about to come into existence outside the USSR, it would not be acceptable to have Russia’s leading Jewish cultural figure, and by far its most beloved one, on hand to discuss issues between Russia, Israel, homelands and the Jews. Vaksberg writes: ‘Stalin must have decided to get rid of Mikhoels no later than December 1947 . . . The strategy that came to Stalin after the UN decision did not allow for the presence in the USSR of a recognized leader of the Jewish national movement, and one with worldwide fame and respect’ (p. 153).

According to Vaksberg, the destruction of the JAC was delayed due to the establishment of the State of Israel on May 14, 1948. ‘Therefore, a large-scale anti-Semitic campaign at that time would not have been appropriate’ (p. 175).

⁵⁶⁹ *Testimony*, p. 157.

⁵⁷⁰ Fay, ‘The Composer Was Courageous, But Not as Much as in Myth’, Section 2, pp. 27 and 32.

Mikhoels.⁵⁷¹ She also mentions an article by Joachim Braun to support her position.⁵⁷² In *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, we provide a wealth of evidence to counter Fay's claims, including a lengthy statement from Braun accusing her of 'vulgar simplification' and 'quoting selectively out of context'.⁵⁷³

Remarkably, Fay maintains her tenuous position on *From Jewish Folk Poetry* in her book, *Shostakovich: A Life*. She continues to view these songs not so much as a courageous work,⁵⁷⁴ intended to show solidarity with beleaguered Jews, but as one with 'near-disastrous timing' (i.e., rotten luck), in which he attempted 'to redeem his recent promises' but favored 'the folklore of the "wrong" ethnic group' (i.e., the wrong folk).⁵⁷⁵ She again refers to Braun, though he's now been demoted from 'Joachim Braun, the leading authority on the "Jewish" facet in Shostakovich's music' in her 1996 article to merely 'a musicologist specializing in the Jewish facet of Shostakovich's creativity'.⁵⁷⁶ The material that she cites in her endnotes is Braun's introductory essay to *Shostakovich's Jewish Songs* (1989). Lest one think his opinion had changed since his 1985 article on the 'Double Meaning of Jewish Elements in Dmitri Shostakovich's Music', this essay includes the following, all ignored by Fay:

p. 17: To understand the meaning of the Jewish elements in Shostakovich's music, it is essential to recall the controversial position of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union at the time. [. . .] Jewish culture, including musical culture, existed on the borderline of the permitted and the undesirable. This paradox of the permitted but undesired, the

⁵⁷¹ According to Natalya Vovsi-Mikhoels, her father also knew Shostakovich. In 1943, 'Mietek [Weinberg] gave my father, the actor Solomon Mikhoels, the Partitura to take with him [from Tashkent] to Moscow so that Shostakovich would listen to it. Shostakovich saw the Partitura and liked it very much'. (Email from Per Skans, 25 May 2000). This is also mentioned in Nelly Kravetz, "'From the Jewish Folk Poetry" of Shostakovich and "Jewish Songs" Op. 17 of Weinberg: Music and Power', in Kuhn, p. 279.

⁵⁷² Cf. Joachim Braun, 'The Double Meaning of Jewish Elements in Dmitri Shostakovich's Music', *Musical Quarterly*, 71/1, 1985, pp. 68–80, and 'Shostakovich's Vocal Cycle *From Jewish Folk Poetry*', in Malcolm H. Brown (ed.), *Russian and Soviet Music*, pp. 259–86. Braun notes that 'the Jewish subject matter was, by its mere existence, provocative. At a time when Jewish culture was under fire, the performance of such a work would have been dangerous' (*MQ*, p. 75). He goes on to comment on 'the more or less obvious dissidence of the text' which he describes as starting a new trend in Soviet music 'notable for its anti-establishment [. . .] overtones' and use of 'Aesopian language'; says that the use of Jewish elements 'may be interpreted as hidden dissidence [and] is in fact a hidden language of resistance communicated to the aware listener of its subtle meaning' (*MQ*, pp. 78–79); and praises the cycle as 'one of Shostakovich's most beautiful and richly symbolic compositions, a masterpiece of the composer's secret language of dissent' (Brown, p. 260).

⁵⁷³ *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 228–29, note 418.

⁵⁷⁴ Here even Boris Tishchenko disputes Fay. Asked 'to what extent do you see the composition of the song cycle as constituting an act of courage on Shostakovich's part?' he responded: 'I'd say it was more akin to a kamikaze act, given that it was written at the time and in the climate of the Doctors' Plot scandal. Courageous, of course it was' ('St Petersburg Special: Part 1 (2000)', *DSCH Journal*, 13, July 2000, p. 34).

⁵⁷⁵ Fay, p. 170. Wilson, 2nd edn., p. 269, note 38, claims that 'by the time she [Fay] wrote her substantial Shostakovich biography published by OUP in 2000, she had reconsidered [. . . the] point of view [in her *New York Times* article]'. If so, how?

⁵⁷⁶ Fay, p. 169.

forbidden but not unlawful, created a highly ambiguous situation regarding the use of Jewish themes and motifs in art. Any exploration of the Jewish idiom or subject was fraught with risk and potentially explosive.

p. 23: The use of Jewish elements in Shostakovich's music reaches far beyond their specific and 'colorful' Jewishness. The intrinsic meaning of these elements is of a deeper symbolic nature. It is in fact a hidden language communicated to the listener aware of its subtle meaning. Because of its special place in Soviet culture, the Jewish element served as a perfect vehicle and 'screening device' for the expression of 'symbolic values' consciously and, in part, unconsciously employed by the artist.

p. 24: the Soviet-dominated International Congress of Composers and Musicologists convened in Prague, 20–29 May 1948, and announced its support for the Central Committee's resolution condemning 'cosmopolitanism' in music [. . .].

p. 25: in the third song, Shostakovich added the line 'The Tsar holds him in prison' following the line 'Your father is in Siberia' in the original — surely an attempt to avoid any possible misinterpretation.

p. 30: Nearly every song of the cycle exploits the elliptical and connotative language characteristic of Jewish folk poetry in order to suggest certain half-hidden meanings. [. . .] This innuendo possesses concrete meaning only for the initiated — in the case of Shostakovich's song cycle, for those acquainted with a particular social and artistic climate. For example, an implicit reference to the millions exiled to Siberia by the Stalin regime is obvious in the third song of the cycle, although the text itself refers to events during the 1905 Revolution. The third song is also related to the fourth song, with its recurrent, desperate outcry, 'Oy, Abram, how shall I live without you? / I, without you — you, without me / How shall we live apart?' The dramatic situation enacted here is clearly a consequence of the Siberian banishment depicted in the third song.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁷ Braun repeats many of the same phrases in his notes for the CD 'Musiques Juives Russes', Chant du monde 288 166, pp. 10–12, released in 2000:

Shostakovich's music changes the bittersweet 'laughter through tears' quality of Jewish folk poetry into a sarcastic grimace and tragic outcry, a latent message of dissent. [. . .]

What could it have been that offended the ruling party so and created this secret Aesopian language of resistance? [. . .] Jewish culture existed on the borderline of the permitted and the undesirable. This paradox of the permitted but undesired, the forbidden but not unlawful, created a highly ambiguous situation regarding the use of Jewish themes and motifs in art. Any exploration of the Jewish idiom or subject was fraught with risk and potentially explosive. [. . .]

Although Simon Morrison, in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, praises Fay's book, claiming that she has 'double-, triple-, and cross-checked' the 'available facts of Shostakovich's existence',⁵⁷⁸ many other examples of Fay's selective scholarship may be found. Fay mentions Shostakovich visiting the dead Mikhoels's family to offer his condolences and saying 'I envy him'.⁵⁷⁹ However, she does not mention that he also said on this occasion: "'This" had started with the Jews and would end with the entire intelligentsia [. . .]'.⁵⁸⁰ Why does Fay report one statement, but remain silent on words showing that he was aware both of Mikhoels's murder⁵⁸¹ and of what was happening to Jews? Fay further mentions that another Jewish-flavored work had been enthusiastically

Nearly every song of the cycle exploits this elliptical and connotative language, characteristic of Jewish folk poetry, in order to suggest certain half-hidden meanings. [. . .] Shostakovich altered some of the original texts in the piano version. Among them was the line 'The Czar keeps him in prison', at the end of 'Your father is in Siberia' (No. 3). This was an attempt to avoid any possible misinterpretation. [This recalls Shostakovich's misdirection concerning the song cycle *Satires*, about which he liked to say 'It all happened in Tsarist Russia'; cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 171. In the orchestral version, Op. 79a, Shostakovich reverted back to the original text. Cf. *DSCJ Journal*, 22, January 2005, p. 33.]

⁵⁷⁸ Morrison, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 348.

⁵⁷⁹ Fay, p. 157.

⁵⁸⁰ Brown (ed.), *Russian and Soviet Music*, p. 261 (although Fay does not list this source in her bibliography, she is no doubt familiar with it because she is one of its contributors). In 'Jews in Soviet Music', *Jews in Soviet Culture*, ed. Jack Miller, Institute of Jewish Affairs/Transaction Books, London, 1984, p. 88, Braun provides a wider perspective on the events of 7 January to 13 January 1948:

7 January: Solomon Mikhoels, the great Jewish actor and head of the Soviet-Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, left Moscow for Minsk. At the railway station he told his relative, the composer Veynberg [sic], with foreboding that Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Myasnovsky [sic] and some others had been summoned to the Party Central Committee.

10 January: Stalin's confidant, Zhdanov, who master-minded the ruin of modern music in the USSR, talked to the leading Soviet composers.

12 January: Mikhoels was killed in Minsk. This was a prelude to the subsequent arrests and murders of most Jewish artists and writers and the closure of all Jewish institutions.

13 January: A meeting of the Party Central Committee began at 1 o'clock at which the musicians were informed of the notorious resolution condemning 'Western modernism and homegrown formalism' in music. At 3 o'clock news of Mikhoels' death reached the musicians assembled in the Central Committee hall. In the evening Shostakovich said to his closest friends: 'This is a campaign which starts with the Jews and will end with the whole of the intelligentsia'.

Others also recognized the significance of these events. After 'returning from Mikhoel's funeral, Eisenstein whispered to a friend, "I'm next"' (Volkov, p. 247). Like Fay, Wilson, p. 260, only gives the first part of Shostakovich's statement: 'I envy him . . .', followed by an ellipse.

⁵⁸¹ In a letter of 1 July 1998, Robert Conquest writes: 'We now (quite recently) have the full story. Stalin sent Ogol'tsov, then Deputy Minister MGB, with a couple of others, to Minsk, where, with Tsanova, Head of the Byelorussian KGB, they clubbed M[ikhoels] to death at Tsanova's dacha, then dumped the bodies (Golubev too) in the street as traffic victims. The NKVD men were given various decorations for carrying out a state assignment [. . .].'

received, and thereby concludes that Shostakovich, too, ‘had no compelling reason to believe there might be any undue risk involved’:⁵⁸²

[Weinberg’s] Sinfonietta, performed at the opening concert of the Plenum and dedicated to ‘the friendship of the peoples of the USSR’, was vaunted by Khrennikov as shining proof of the benefit to be reaped by shunning the ruinous influence of modernism, turning to folk sources, and following the path of realism: ‘Turning to the sources of Jewish folk music, [Weinberg] created a striking, cheerful work dedicated to the theme of the bright, free working life of the Jewish people in the Land of Socialism’.⁵⁸³

She does not mention, however, that Jewish-flavored works were a rare exception in the USSR⁵⁸⁴ and that, according to Natalya Vovsi-Mikhoels,

(1) The Sinfonietta was premiered in Kiev (13 November 1948) rather than in Moscow or Leningrad, ‘as it would have been had the Soviet authorities considered it any kind of an “official” work’;

(2) It was written ‘as a protest to the murder of my father. He wanted to emphasize that a man cannot be killed simply for being Jewish’;

(3) It was dedicated to the *Druzhbe narodov SSSR* (‘to the friendship of the peoples of the USSR’), but that this was removed on ‘someone’s recommendation’ before the score was printed sometime later;

⁵⁸² Fay, p. 170.

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 170, but with Fay’s ‘Vainberg’ replaced with ‘Weinberg’, the original Polish spelling of his name. In contrast, Braun, in ‘Jews in Soviet Music’, pp. 90–91, states that ‘The use of Jewish folk melodies in classical musical forms is much rarer and usually interpreted as an accidental deviation from the composer’s main style (e.g., in Vaynberg, Basner). It is frequently condemned, as during the discussion of Vaynberg’s Sinfonietta at the Composer’s Union in 1948 when one of the leading musicologists was indignant that “the music of *lapersdaks* and *peyses*” could be heard in Soviet music’. He goes on to quote Khrennikov’s praise of this work, but, unlike Fay, recognizes this for what it was — propaganda, plain and simple: ‘During the anti-semitic orgy of 1948–49, what could be better for world display than to give Vaynberg as an example?’ He goes on to note that in spite of Khrennikov’s official ‘praise’, the work was only ‘performed several times and then avoided’.

⁵⁸⁴ Among the handful of Jewish-flavored works composed in the 1930s–40s in the USSR are Zinoviy Kompaneyets’s *Rhapsody on Jewish Themes* for orchestra (1939); Weinberg’s Piano Trio, Op. 24 (1945), and *Jewish Songs*, Opp. 13 (1943; which had to be renamed *Children’s Songs* when published in 1944 and 1945) and 17 (1944, with Yiddish texts; performed soon after composition, then withdrawn because of rising anti-Semitism and not heard again until 16 November 1999); Dmitry Klebanov’s Symphony No. 1 (‘In Memory of the Victims of Babi Yar’; composed in 1945, but banned for forty-five years due to an ‘excess of Jewish intonations’ and because ‘the last movement showed a strong resemblance to Kaddish [the prayer for the deceased], referring to Jewish victims only’ (Henny van de Groep, ‘From Babi Yar to Babi Yar: Halkin, Weinberg and Shostakovich: Brothers in Arms’, *DSCH Journal*, 29, July 2008, p. 35)); and Shostakovich’s Piano Trio No. 2, Op. 67 (1944), Violin Concerto No. 1, Op. 77 (1948), *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, Op. 79 (1948), and Quartet No. 4, Op. 83 (1949), the last three written ‘for the drawer’ and premièred only after Stalin’s death.

(4) The score was intended to be ironic, using as a motto a quotation from one of Mikhoels's own speeches praising the ideal life conditions for Jews in the Soviet Union: 'Jewish songs begin to be heard in the kolkhoz fields, not the song of old gloomy days but new happy songs of productivity and labor'; and

(5) When Weinberg later was arrested, this Sinfonietta was one of the accusations brought against him as a Jewish nationalist.⁵⁸⁵

Finally, Fay does not acknowledge that even Manashir Yakubov, the curator of the Shostakovich Family Archive, and Richard Taruskin reject her conclusion. Yakubov notes: 'The cycle *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, and later the Thirteenth Symphony ("Babi Yar"), were *direct responses to growing anti-semitism*'.⁵⁸⁶ Taruskin elaborates:

From Jewish Folk Poetry was written during the black year 1948. That was the year of the Zhdanov crackdown, and of the Communist Party's infamous 'Resolution on Music', a document that subjected Shostakovich to his second bout of official persecution. It was also the year in which for the first time anti-Semitism, under the guise of a campaign against 'cosmopolitanism', became official government policy in the Soviet Union. The actor Solomon Mikhoels was murdered in Minsk. The Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee was liquidated and its leadership arrested. Over the next five years, practically every Jewish cultural activist in the country would be executed. Shostakovich's song cycle was the most demonstrative of his several appropriations of Jewish thematic material and subject matter, and *when you connect the various events of 1948 — even when Stalin's cynical recognition of the infant State of Israel that year and the triumphant arrival of Golda Meir (then Golda Myerson), the Israeli ambassador, just in time for the High Holidays are weighed in the balance — it seems more convincing than ever to associate the appropriation of Jewish folklore with the composer's wish covertly to affirm solidarity with the persecuted. Indeed, it was a way of identifying himself and his colleagues, creative artists in Stalin's Russia, with another oppressed minority.*⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸⁵ From Per Skans's correspondence with Natalya Vovsi-Mikhoels. In "'From the Jewish Folk Poetry" of Shostakovich and "Jewish Songs" Op. 17 of Weinberg', p. 284, Kravetz further notes that Mikhoels's words, used as a motto for Weinberg's Sinfonietta, resemble passages in songs 9 and 10 of Shostakovich's *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, written the summer after Mikhoels's murder and dedicated to him.

⁵⁸⁶ Yakubov, p. 11.

⁵⁸⁷ Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically*, p. 473; emphasis added. This material was published after Fay's *New York Times* article and appears to respond to it. Fay had cited, as evidence to support her position, that in May 1948 Stalin had 'publicly upstage[d] Truman by making the Soviet Union the first country to grant de jure, not merely de facto recognition to the nascent State of Israel' and that when 'Golda Meir arrived in Moscow to become Israel's first ambassador to the U.S.S.R., a]n estimated 50,000 Soviet Jews turned out to greet her'. In contrast, Taruskin acknowledges 'Stalin's cynical recognition' of Israel and the welcoming of Golda Meir for what they were: attempts to snatch the Mid-East initiative from the British and give it to

Why, one may wonder, has so much space been devoted to discussing Fay's 'rotten luck/wrong folk' conclusion? Michael Kerpan explains:

the reason this is important is that it is a leading indicator — like a canary in a mine shaft. [. . .]

In her infamous NYT article, Ms. Fay jumped into this minefield with no serious preparation and next to no knowledge. She attempted to describe the context in which Shostakovich was working when he composed FJFP without bothering to do any serious 'inter-disciplinary' research. Her lack of comprehension of soviet anti-semitism in the 40s was appalling. [. . .]

Now, Ms. Fay has had the chance to revisit the topic, with several years to inform herself more fully — and to get a richer sense of the social and political context of Soviet anti-semitism throughout the 40s.⁵⁸⁸ She

the USSR. This passage also provides another example of Taruskin's own extensive recycling of texts à la *Testimony* (cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 205–6). It appears again, nearly verbatim, in his 'Shostakovich and Us', Bartlett (ed.), *Shostakovich in Context*, p. 6. More recently, Esti Sheinberg has written:

[Fay] raises the options that the composer wanted to express compliance with the party's demands for simple, folk-like music, and that he made a simple mistake by choosing 'the wrong ethnic group'. This assumption is not only unsubstantial, but also unconvincing: Shostakovich was not as stupid as to believe that 'a folk is a folk is a folk, and it doesn't matter which folk idiom you choose for your works as long as it is in folk idiom'. He knew what would be perceived as a 'right ethnic group' and what would not. He knew Stalin was Georgian and was familiar with his likes and dislikes ('Shostakovich's "Jewish Music" as an Existential Statement', in Kuhn, pp. 92–93).

⁵⁸⁸ Ian MacDonald in *DSCH Journal*, 9, Summer 1998, p. 46, notes that 'two specialists on the Jewish aspect of Sovietology [Dr. Harold Shukman of the Russian & East European Centre, St. Antony's College, Oxford, and Dr. Howard Spier of the Institute for Jewish Policy Research, London] to whom I showed her article were incredulous that it could have been published as serious work, while a third such authority, the musicologist Joachim Braun (who regards Shostakovich as a secret dissident) responded as follows: 'The meaning of Shostakovich's music is disclosed to the "aware listener". It is his "rotten luck" that among the unaware are also some musicologists'. Dr. Shukman, in a letter of 17 July 1996, states: 'I can barely believe the Laurel Fay *et al.* position. That anyone with minimal access to published sources on the Soviet period of Russian history could be unaware of some of the most infamous events experienced by Soviet Jews is amazing'. Per Skans, on DSCH-list, 9 November 2004, adds that Arkady Vaksberg's *Stalin Against the Jews* (1994), Aleksandr Borshchagovski's *Obvinyaetsya krov* (1994), and Arno Lustiger's *Rotbuch: Stalin und die Juden* (1998) all make clear

that the truth about Mikhoels's death was common knowledge practically at once. Fay would not have had to read more than the first page of the last one to see that almost no one believed in the official story. Or she could have read Markish's poem in Lustiger's book, the poem which he recited in front of thousands of people at Mikhoels's funeral, which contains the statement that Mikhoels was murdered, and [for] which Markish later had to pay with his own life.

Henny van de Groep, in *DSCH Journal*, 29, July 2008, p. 30, also quotes this passage (Verse 3) from Markish's 'S. Mikhoels — An Eternal Light at the Bier':

.... Eternity, to your dishonoured door I come
With bruises, the marks of murder, on my face

had to know she was vulnerable on this issue. She had a choice of simply doing damage control or of acting like a conscientious and honest scholar. If she didn't rise to the challenge of the second alternative on a point where she knew she would be subject to scrutiny, how much can we trust her knowledge, her conscientiousness and her professional honesty in areas where there is less cross-checking information available outside the merely musicological arena?⁵⁸⁹

In addition, Louis Blois perceptively observes that *From Jewish Poetry* itself is inconsistent with Fay's view of it as music to fulfill a quota:

(a) The unusually intense passion and level of inspiration of FJFP indicate that its artistic ambitions were much greater than any song cycle DDS had composed to that point in his career. [. . .] It is neither run of the mill as a work in the ethnic genre nor in artistic quality as compared to the composer's other art songs. It thus seems to have had very special meaning to Shostakovich.

(b) If DDS did indeed have the rotten luck to only discover post facto (but pre-public premiere) that in FJFP he deployed the 'wrong' ethnicity in fulfilling official dictates, why was no substitute song cycle quickly written in its place? If the composer were able to write a last-minute substitute for the 12th Symphony in but a few days, he certainly could have cobbled together some Azerbaijani, Armenian, or Tatar tunes into a last-minute ethnic song cycle. He then could have tabled FJFP, produced the 'From the Caucasus Mountains' song suite, and offered the switcheroo [. . .] with an obliging grin. [. . .]

(c) When DDS finally does write a few cycles of ethnically-derived songs in the early 1950s, their attributes contrast sharply with those of FJFP. Specifically, these cycles are exceedingly routine in execution; are almost completely devoid of DDS's stylistic fingerprints; tend to be highly symmetric in form; opt for decorative rather than seriously expressive

Thus walks my people on five-sixth of the globe,
Scarred with marks of the axe and hatred....

.... You're not deadened by the murderer's hand.
The snow has not concealed the last sign;
Torment in your eyes, from beneath ravaged lids,
To the sky surges up, like a mountain to heaven....

She provides additional insights on Shostakovich's knowledge of Soviet anti-Semitism, and concludes that the composer 'must have been fully aware of the persecution of the Jews when he composed works with Jewish elements, including his *From Jewish Folk Poetry*'.

⁵⁸⁹ Michael Kerpan, DSCH-list, 14 December 1999.

content; and are entirely based on derived, not original, musical material. Once again, the music in FJFP contrasts sharply.

[. . . T]he circumstantial evidence of the music, itself, seems to suggest that FJFP had a very special meaning for the composer [. . .]; that pandering to the politburo with ethnic tunes was not his bag; and that with his quick composing facility, he could have swiftly and easily turned ‘rotten luck’ into ‘good luck’ with a freshly substituted song cycle, but in fact, made no such effort [. . .].⁵⁹⁰

In conclusion, Fay’s much criticized view of *From Jewish Folk Poetry* demonstrates a serious misunderstanding of both the times and the music, as well as a stubborn reluctance to become better informed and to modify one’s position with new evidence.⁵⁹¹ Just as few accept the ‘official’ death date of Apostolov put forward by Fay, fewer still are likely to buy her ‘rotten luck/wrong folk’ theory.

2. The ‘Seven Ironic Words of Richard Taruskin’

The second issue in *Shostakovich Reconsidered* that has generated much discussion is Taruskin’s description of the composer as ‘perhaps Soviet Russia’s most loyal musical son’. A brief overview of this affair is presented below because it sheds valuable light on several participants in the ‘Shostakovich Wars’. After we first mentioned the phrase at the Midwest meeting of the American Musicological Society on 4 October 1997, Malcolm Brown claimed, again without checking his facts, that ‘Nowhere in the writings of the three of us [Fay, Taruskin, or myself] can be found the assertion that “Shostakovich was Soviet Russia’s most loyal musical son”’.⁵⁹² When we provided two citations for Taruskin’s words in print,⁵⁹³ Brown then claimed that the statement had been taken out of context.⁵⁹⁴ The following year, David Fanning, in a review of *Shostakovich Reconsidered* in *BBC Music Magazine*, added:

⁵⁹⁰ Louis Blois, DSCH-list, 15 September 1999.

⁵⁹¹ At the Shostakovich Festival at Rutgers University, 8 April 2006, Vladimir Orlov of the Library of Congress presented a paper titled ‘The Aionic Death of Jewish Culture: Shostakovich’s “Songs from Jewish Folk Poetry”’ that refuted Fay’s position on *From Jewish Folk Poetry*. Orlov discussed what was known at the time Shostakovich composed his song cycle and how Fay’s claim that he didn’t know about the anti-Semitism is incorrect, using historical analysis and Shostakovich’s relationship with Weinberg to support his case. Afterwards, Fay stated that she was not going to defend her ‘lightning rod’ *New York Times* article, but nonetheless attempted to do just that, downplaying it as a short article, without her own title and without footnotes, written for the popular press. As noted previously, however, the same thesis is repeated in her later, scholarly, heavily documented *Shostakovich: A Life* (cf. p. 169 above). Fay also claimed that her article was written before much top-secret material had been declassified and had come to light. Orlov responded that while this information may be new to foreigners, it was not new to Russians.

⁵⁹² Malcolm H. Brown, AMS-list, 15 October 1997.

⁵⁹³ Cf. Taruskin ‘Dictator’, p. 40, and ‘A Martyred Opera Reflects Its Abominable Time’, *The New York Times*, 6 November 1994, Section 2, p. 35.

⁵⁹⁴ Cf. MacDonald, ‘The Turning Point’, p. 62, note 42.

on at least seven occasions, including once as a section heading, Taruskin is quoted as referring to Shostakovich as ‘[perhaps] Soviet Russia’s most loyal musical son’ (the ‘perhaps’ comes and goes).⁵⁹⁵ He did write those words, in a belligerent piece of journalism for the *New Republic*, but only with reference to Shostakovich’s perceived political stance before the notorious *Pravda* ‘Muddle instead of Music’ article of January 1936, not, as *Shostakovich Reconsidered* consistently implies, to the remaining 40 or so years of the composer’s career.⁵⁹⁶

Both Fanning and Brown appear to accept the notion that Shostakovich could have been ‘perhaps Soviet Russia’s most loyal musical son’ up to the time of *Lady Macbeth* (1936). But where is the evidence? Elsewhere, Brown himself writes that ‘An interest in modernist devices, love of irony, and commitment to personal creative vision brought him [Shostakovich] repeatedly into the center of controversy. His opera *The Nose*, produced in Leningrad in 1930, was withdrawn under attack for its “bourgeois decadence”’.⁵⁹⁷ This hardly sounds like the work of a ‘loyal musical son’. In addition, consider the following passages from Manashir Yakubov’s notes for the London Symphony Orchestra’s Shostakovich Series, all of which, in fact, support the view in *Shostakovich Reconsidered* that the composer was *never* ‘Soviet Russia’s most loyal musical son’:

p. 13: *The Golden Age (Zolotoi Vek)*, *The Bolt (Bolt)*, and *The Limpid Stream (Svetlyi rucheï)* [. . .] were barbarically denigrated and banned at their time of writing.⁵⁹⁸

p. 24: *The Nose* marks a high-point in avantgarde achievement not only for the young Shostakovich, but also for all Russian music in the first half of this century. [. . .] The opera, which was performed for the first time on 18 January 1930, came under vigorous attack by the critics. [. . .] Daniel

⁵⁹⁵ Morrison, in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 357, also complains that in two of nine instances in which Taruskin’s phrase is quoted (pp. 172 and 532), the word ‘perhaps’ is omitted. Perhaps instead of complaining, Morrison should have provided evidence to support Taruskin’s statement or at least explained what Taruskin meant. Was Shostakovich ‘perhaps’ not *the* most loyal musical son, but the second or third most loyal musical son?

⁵⁹⁶ *BBC Music Magazine*, September 1998, p. 24. Fanning’s position is repeated, essentially unchanged, in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 279:

I have already [liner notes to Deutsche Grammophon 437 511] begged to differ from Professor Taruskin’s views on Shostakovich’s opera as expressed in this particular article [*The New Republic*, 1989] and I don’t approve his choice of words at this point, not least because the phrase in question echoes *Pravda*’s official obituary notice. But from the context in which it appears, it’s clear to me that this is no bald statement about Shostakovich’s entire career.

⁵⁹⁷ Brown, ‘Shostakovich’, *The 1995 Grolier Multimedia Encyclopedia*, on CD-ROM.

⁵⁹⁸ Mishra, p. 65, notes that *The Golden Age* was faced with ‘the virulent ongoing campaign against light music being waged by RAPM. Within days of its premiere, the ballet was attacked for “insinuat[ing] the ideology of the western pigsty onto the stage”’.

Zhitomirsky [wrote]: ‘Shostakovich has, without a doubt, strayed from the main path of Soviet art’.

p. 27: [his music for the film *New Babylon* (1928–29)] was too far ahead of its time. The cinema orchestra could not manage the score, while audiences were unable to understand it. A row erupted at each showing. After the first two or three days, the music was dropped and was soon entirely forgotten.

p. 31: [Shostakovich, in ‘My Artistic Path’, *Izvestia*, 3 April 1935, states:] ‘There have been times when I have come under attack by the critics mainly for formalism. I do not agree with those accusations now and I never shall do so in the future. I have never been a formalist nor will I ever become one. To condemn a work to public dishonor solely because its language is complex and less than immediately clear, is unacceptably weakminded’.⁵⁹⁹

Rather than defending his statement, Taruskin himself sought to explain it, both at the national meeting of the American Musicological Society (31 October 1998) and in his Cramb lecture (2000), as an attempt at irony:

It was the Shostakovich who wrote what I continue to regard as this very inhumane opera [*Lady Macbeth*] that my phrase described, and the sentence in which it appeared left (I thought) no doubt that I was describing Shostakovich through the lens of the Soviet policies of the 1930s: ‘Thus,’ I wrote, ‘was Dmitriy Shostakovich, perhaps Soviet Russia’s most loyal musical son, and certainly her most talented one, made a sacrificial lamb, precisely for his pre-eminence among Soviet artists of his generation.’ You will notice, too, that the ‘perhaps,’ which my critics drop at will [actually on only two of nine occasions — Eds.], and which Mr. MacDonald has called a mere academic tic, serves a purpose that students of literary irony will recognize. It contrasts the doubtful part of the characterization against the part that is endorsed

⁵⁹⁹ More recently, Simon Morrison, in Fay’s *Shostakovich and His World*, also portrays the composer as being at odds with the genuine loyal sons (emphasis added):

p. 117: Critics argued that while the subject matter [of *Bolt*] was topical — industrial sabotage and the first Five-Year Plan — its realization was superficial and irreverent, a *slap in the face of the Soviet cause*.

p. 154: [In] Shostakovich’s ‘Declaration of Responsibilities,’ published in the fall of 1931 in *The Worker and the Theatre* [. . .] the composer decries the simplistic and reductive handling of music in proletarian cinema, operetta, and vaudeville. [This elicited a response,] ‘Who’s Against? It’s *Unanimous*: An Open Letter to D. Shostakovich’ (italics added). Signed by members of the Leningrad ballet, theater, and musical organizations, this article takes the young composer to task for spreading himself too thin, simultaneously writing music for opera, ballet, music hall, and film studios, and for *daring to charge that Soviet musical culture lacked refinement and sophistication*.

(‘certainly her most talented son’). It is a signal to alert readers that there is a latent meaning. [. . .]

In the *New York Times* rewrite, I inserted the words ‘till then’ before the fatal phrase, to make clearer that the reference was only to 1936 and before. [. . .] Actually, the idea was not mine. While going over the piece with me on the phone, my editor at the *Times*, James Oestreich, suggested, ‘Don’t you want to say “until then”?’ ‘Don’t you think the context makes it clear enough?’ I asked. ‘Of course it does,’ he answered, ‘but there are a lot of idiots out there.’⁶⁰⁰

The irony of Taruskin’s explanation is that none of his defenders — neither Malcolm Brown, nor David Fanning, nor Tamara Bernstein,⁶⁰¹ nor Esti Sheinberg,⁶⁰² nor Simon Morrison⁶⁰³ — read his phrase as being ironic. All of these ‘idiots’, to use Oestreich’s description, thought they were defending something substantial. As Ian MacDonald notes: ‘The crime of context-violation was not, after all, a question of times and dates, but instead a matter of mistaken tone. Taruskin’s Fateful Phrase is, it seems, some sort of joke’.⁶⁰⁴ Vladimir Ashkenazy adds:

While I’d be happy to accept that Professor Taruskin meant this ironically, it is certainly a pity that, in his 1994 piece, he failed to place inverted commas around the word ‘loyal’ [as he does with other material in the preceding paragraph⁶⁰⁵], rather than preface his fateful phrase with the words ‘till then’. I find it difficult to convince myself that the conventional use of inverted commas to indicate irony did not occur to a man of Professor Taruskin’s intelligence. In any event, the result of all this has been that many people, including myself, have concluded that Professor Taruskin was, in 1994, merely confirming his basic view of Shostakovich as first set forth in 1989, qualifying it in the case of the second article by introducing a time limit.⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰⁰ Taruskin, ‘Cramb Lecture’, p. 37.

⁶⁰¹ Tamara Bernstein, ‘Memoirs in the Wrong Key’, *The National Post* [Canada], 2 November 1998; reprinted in *DSCH Journal*, 10, Winter, 1998, p. 61.

⁶⁰² Sheinberg, review of *Shostakovich Reconsidered* in *Notes*, 56/2, December 1999, p. 23.

⁶⁰³ Morrison, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 357, note 3.

⁶⁰⁴ MacDonald, ‘Centre and Pseudo-centre’, *DSCH Journal*, 11, Summer 1998, pp. 22–24.

⁶⁰⁵ The paragraph before reads:

Its rhetoric notwithstanding, the editorial [in *Pravda* about *Lady Macbeth*] was the first conclusive indication that the arts policies of the Soviet state would be governed henceforth by the philistine petit-bourgeois taste of the only critic that mattered [Stalin]. In a phrase that must have scared the poor composer half out of his wits, the chief official organ of Soviet power accused him of ‘trifling with difficult matters,’ and hinted that ‘it might end very badly.’

Notice the use of quotation marks here, but not around Taruskin’s ‘fateful phrase’.

⁶⁰⁶ Email from Ashkenazy, 26 October 1999. In his later *Oxford History of Western Music*, Vol. 1, p. xxv, Taruskin has placed ‘inverted commas’ around the phrase ‘loyal musical son of the Soviet Union’.

The ‘seven ironic words’ of Richard Taruskin take still another humorous twist in *A Shostakovich Casebook*. There, Levon Hakobian writes:

It is amusing that one of the most important leitmotifs of *Shostakovich Reconsidered* consists in the refutation of the thesis advanced by the American scholar Richard Taruskin: ‘Shostakovich was, obviously, *a most loyal musical son of Soviet Russia.*’

[. . .] Shostakovich was not only ‘*a most loyal musical son of Soviet Russia.*’ (Of course he was, and to deny this, as it applies to Shostakovich before 1936 — and that is exactly the period to which Taruskin refers — is absurd to say the least.) But he was also someone who sincerely hated the regime.⁶⁰⁷

Apparently, Hakobian is *still* unaware of Taruskin’s ‘irony’. In addition, he actually misquotes Taruskin’s phrase in criticizing *Shostakovich Reconsidered*. Taruskin described Shostakovich as ‘perhaps Soviet Russia’s most loyal musical son’, not as ‘a most loyal musical son of Soviet Russia’. The difference between ‘*the* most loyal son’ and ‘*a* most loyal son’ is significant in English, unlike in Russian, and even Brown, on p. 236, note e, acknowledges that ‘Hakobian’s Russian paraphrase [. . .] is *not* an exact rendering of Taruskin’s original English statement’. One wonders, however, why Brown did not ask Hakobian simply to modify his main text to correct his inaccurate quotation and unfair criticism of *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, especially since Hakobian is alive and other contributors were allowed to revise their materials.

⁶⁰⁷ Hakobian, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 233; emphasis added.

VIII. Richard Taruskin: ‘America’s Most Brilliant Musicologist’, or Just Another ‘Neuvazhai-Koryto’?

Richard Taruskin’s latest publications showcase the rich and varied legacy of this most prolific, prominent, and persuasive writer on music.⁶⁰⁸ His six-volume *Oxford History of Western Music* (2005) makes available for present and future generations Taruskin’s take on just about every musical figure and development of note, and his *On Russian Music* (2009) and *The Danger of Music* (2009) bring together over seventy-five other articles published in a variety of venues. To complement these august publications, we provide below our own portrait of ‘America’s most brilliant musicologist’,⁶⁰⁹ examining in particular his outspoken role in the ‘Shostakovich Wars’.

Taruskin recently has likened the thirty-year ‘Shostakovich Wars’ to a religious battle, ‘a genuine jihad’.⁶¹⁰ This aptly describes the passion, viciousness, and relentlessness with which it has been waged. It also suggests that this debate is not just professional (i.e., a disagreement between scholars), but personal as well. Taruskin’s active involvement in the ‘Shostakovich Wars’ appears motivated less by a genuine admiration for Shostakovich or an appreciation of his music (both of which he has criticized repeatedly)⁶¹¹ than by a desire to put his own stamp on the composer and to save face. Indeed, his focus usually is on dispelling what he calls the ‘fantasy image of Shostakovich as a dissident’,⁶¹² rejecting the hidden meanings that Shostakovich and others have attributed to his works, and attacking that which first revealed this ‘new Shostakovich’: *Testimony* and its editor Solomon Volkov. For Taruskin, the ‘Shostakovich Wars’ is not about who the composer actually was, but who Taruskin needs him to be to fit his own contrarian views of the man and his music. Simply put, if *Testimony* is authentic and accurate, then Taruskin, throughout most of his long and illustrious career, has been incredibly, unmistakably, and embarrassingly wrong.

As first documented in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, Taruskin initially was a supporter of Volkov and of the then unpublished *Testimony*. In fact, his letter of recommendation of 16 July 1976 assisted Volkov in obtaining a research fellowship at Columbia University, Taruskin’s own institution, and is filled with the most glowing and unequivocal praise:

⁶⁰⁸ For a summary of his career, cf. Jerry McBride’s 2008 biography of Taruskin and list of his selected writings on the Internet at <<http://prelectur.stanford.edu/lecturers/taruskin/index.html>> and <<http://prelectur.stanford.edu/lecturers/taruskin/bibliography.html#reviews>>.

⁶⁰⁹ Rose Rosengard Subotnik, quoted on the dust jacket of Taruskin’s *Text and Act*. In *The Oxford History of Western Music*, Vol. 1, p. xxxii, Taruskin reveals her to be ‘my dear friend from those days [the 1960s]’ rather than an unbiased, objective reviewer. Cf. note 19 regarding ‘The Cock and Cuckoo’.

⁶¹⁰ *On Russian Music*, p. 16.

⁶¹¹ Cf. pp. 54–55 above for his negative views of *Lady Macbeth* and the composer himself. He also views the Eighth Quartet as an ‘apologia’ to the composer’s own conscience for a lack of will in joining the Communist Party: by appropriating the prison song ‘Tortured by Grievous Unfreedom’ Shostakovich was ‘proclaiming his unfreedom and disclaiming responsibility for what he judged himself to be an act of cowardice, or, rather, a craven failure to act’ (*Defining Russia Musically*, pp. 494–95).

⁶¹² *On Russian Music*, p. 326.

Professor William Harkins
Russian Institute
School of International Affairs

Dear Professor Harkins:

Although my acquaintance with Solomon Volkov and his work is at present limited to one morning's conversation and the perusal of a small body of articles and essays, I can confidently state that he is unquestionably the most impressive and accomplished among the Soviet emigré musicians and musicologists whom I have had occasion to meet in the last few years.

Mr. Volkov had already made a mark in the musical life of the USSR at the time of his emigration. He had organized a chamber opera company in Leningrad, and at the time of his leaving he was a senior staff editor of Sovetskaia muzyka, the official organ of the USSR Composers Union. As a critic, he was a recognized authority on the young composers of Leningrad, and a respected and trusted intimate of many of them. He had also served one of them, Valery Arzumanov, as librettist. Mr. Volkov's articles, however, were not mere echoes of an official line. Often sharply polemical, they were at times the focal point of controversy, and of official disapproval.

As musicologist, Mr. Volkov has done most of his work in two areas — the psychology of musical perception and Russian musical life and thought at the turn of the century. His writings display a lively intelligence and as broad acquaintance with the relevant literature, both Russian and to an extent Western. His competence and training far surpasses that of any musicologist of his generation I have met.

Mr. Volkov indicated to me in conversation that one of his major areas of interest is the composer Modest Musorgsky, particularly Musorgsky's relations with the pochvenniki and the Slavophiles, and also the history of the reception and evaluation of Musorgsky's work. It can easily be seen that both of these topics are potentially 'political' in Soviet eyes, and Mr. Volkov implied that carrying on such research was difficult in the ideological conditions that prevail in the USSR. He seemed eager to turn his attention to these questions once again. The work could yield important results in my opinion, and ought to be encouraged.

Finally, you are probably aware that Mr. Volkov is acting in the capacity of literary executor for the late Dmitri Shostakovich. When it will be time for the preparation of Shostakovich's memoirs for publication, Mr. Volkov will need library access and other advantages of university affiliation. The sponsorship of such a work would reflect credit, I believe, upon the Russian Institute and upon Columbia University generally.

For all these reasons I am happy to endorse most heartily Mr. Volkov's request and application for a research fellowship in the Russian Institute. I would be happy to discuss the matter further with you if you should desire it, and in general to assist in any way I can.

Very truly yours,
Richard F. Taruskin
Assistant Professor of Music⁶¹³

⁶¹³ Cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 300, for a facsimile of this letter.

Taruskin's praise suddenly turned to scorn when Laurel Fay raised doubts about the memoirs in 'Shostakovich versus Volkov: Whose *Testimony*?' (1980). Far from sponsorship of *Testimony* reflecting 'credit [. . .] upon the Russian Institute and upon Columbia University generally', they and assistant professor Richard Taruskin, in particular, had become, in his words, 'an early accomplice in what was, I later realized, a shameful exploitation. [. . .] The book was translated into a dozen languages. It won prizes. It became the subject of symposia. The reception of *Testimony* was the greatest critical scandal I have ever witnessed'.⁶¹⁴

With egg splattered squarely on his own face (he had, after all, vouched for the unknown Volkov with his own good name and reputation), Taruskin began in earnest a crusade to cleanse himself — usually by besmirching Volkov. In a letter to the editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1995, the latter called attention to this curiously obsessive behavior:

With some fascination I observe Richard Taruskin's obvious obsession with me and with the book I've collaborated on: *Testimony: The Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich*. For more than a dozen years now he attacks it and tries to undermine its credibility in every publication and at every forum that will allow it.

For me this obsession could be explained only in psychoanalytical terms. Many years ago, as a young emigre musicologist from Russia, I happened to influence decisively Richard Taruskin's thinking on Mussorgsky and Stravinsky, the main figures of his future field of expertise. First profoundly grateful, later on he tried, apparently unsuccessfully, to come to terms with this interaction. So Taruskin's struggle with me continues, not unlike the struggle of Stravinsky's hapless Petrouchka against his Magician.⁶¹⁵

As suggested above, Taruskin's interest in the 'Shostakovich Wars' also reflects, and probably is motivated in part by, a professional rivalry with Volkov. No other American-based writers have published so successfully and been so influential in the area of Russian music research, reaching both scholarly and more general audiences. Taruskin has been the more prolific and he has won the lion's share of prestigious awards, including the Greenberg Prize (1978), Alfred Einstein Award (1980), Dent Medal (1987), two Kinkeldey Prizes (1997 and 2006), and ASCAP-Deems Taylor Award (1988). However, Volkov's books have been published in more languages and in several areas, such as the understanding of Shostakovich, his music, and his cultural milieu, he has had the greater international impact with listeners, performers, and scholars. *Testimony* alone has been translated into some twenty languages and has sold half a million copies and *Shostakovich and Stalin* soon will be available in ten different languages.

⁶¹⁴ Taruskin, 'Dictator', p. 34.

⁶¹⁵ Cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 302, for a facsimile of this letter that was written in response to Taruskin's article 'Who was Shostakovich?'

Particularly striking is the difference in reception of Taruskin's and Volkov's writings in contemporary Russia. Although Taruskin, in the West, is often viewed as a leading commentator on Russian music, his publications are known in Russia only within a limited clique of academics, mostly in St. Petersburg, in the circle around Lyudmila Kovnatsakaya. Apparently, not a single book by Taruskin has been published in Russia in translation and he has had no discernible influence on the broader cultural discourse. On the other hand, five of Volkov's books, starting with his *Conversations with Joseph Brodsky* (first issued in Moscow in 1998), have been published in Russian to great acclaim. In 2007, the influential Moscow magazine *Novy Mir* (*The New World*) called *Shostakovich and Stalin* 'a masterpiece of cultural history' and commented: 'Amazingly, Volkov, a former dissident, has entered the contemporary *mainstream* of Russian cultural life'.⁶¹⁶ Similarly, in a review of Volkov's *The Magical Chorus: A History of Russian Culture from Tolstoy to Solzhenitsyn*, Lev Danilkin, a leading Russian literary columnist, concluded: 'Russian culture got extremely lucky with Volkov [. . .]. Volkov did for Russian literature the same thing that Karamzin did two hundred years earlier — he brought into it new genres. Ten years ago it was "Conversations with [Joseph Brodsky]"; now — "the popular history of a single subject" (*The Magical Chorus*)'.⁶¹⁷ New editions of Volkov's books appear regularly and combined printings of these *in Russian* now run in the hundreds of thousands of copies.⁶¹⁸

Interestingly, Volkov and Taruskin's paths to their confrontation were almost diametrically opposite. Volkov (born 1944) began his career in the USSR as a senior editor of *Sovetskaya Muzyka*. He also wrote numerous articles for this and other general publications, including a review of Shostakovich's Eighth Quartet in *Smena* in 1960 that immediately acknowledged its significance in the repertory. Only after settling in the USA did he become the author of much admired books — e.g., *St. Petersburg: A Cultural History* (1995), *Shostakovich and Stalin* (2004), *The Magical Chorus* (2008), and *Romanov Riches: Russian Writers and Artists Under the Tsars* (2011) — and the editor of reminiscences by prominent Russian cultural figures. On the other hand, Taruskin (born 1945) began his career as a musicologist in the USA. He spent a relatively limited time in the USSR in 1971–72 doing research on Aleksandr Serov and others, and then went on to publish a number of scholarly tomes, including *Opera and Drama in Russia as Preached and Practiced in the 1860s* (1981/93), *Musorgsky: Eight Essays and an Epilogue* (1993), *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (1995),

⁶¹⁶ Quoted on the dust jacket of Volkov's *The Magical Chorus: A History of Russian Culture from Tolstoy to Solzhenitsyn*, Alfred A Knopf, New York, 2008; emphasis added.

⁶¹⁷ Lev Danilkin, *Numeratsiya s Khvosta: putevoditel' po russkoi literature* (*Counting From the Tail: A Guide to Russian Literature*), Moscow, Astrel', 2009, pp. 255–56. Nikolay Mikhailovich Karamzin (1766–1826) has been described as the most important Russian writer before Pushkin, the first Russian literary critic, and a respected historian best known for his *Istoriya Gosudarstva Rossiiskago* (*History of the Russian Imperial State*), eleven volumes of which were published before his death.

⁶¹⁸ Volkov's greater prominence in Russia is reflected in Irina Stepanova's *K 100-letiyu Shostakovicha. Vstupaya v vek vtoroy: spory prodolzhayutsya* (*To 100th Anniversary of Shostakovich: Onto the Second Century: Arguments Continue*), Moscow, Fortuna, 2007. After making all the requisite stipulations, Stepanova proceeds to quote from *Testimony* some fifty times and from Volkov's *Shostakovich and Stalin* four times. In contrast, Taruskin and Fay each are cited only twice, and Fay's biography is ignored completely whereas Meyer's is quoted six times.

Defining Russia Musically (1997), and *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions* (1996). Only from 1985 did he branch out into writing for more ‘public’ as opposed to ‘academic’ audiences, in *Opus*, *The New York Times*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, *The New Republic*, and other publications.⁶¹⁹ Taruskin, too, would express his thoughts on Shostakovich’s Eighth Quartet. Unlike Volkov, however, he finds it a flawed work because of its lengthy and literal quotations and overly explicit meaning (first described in *Testimony* and then confirmed in a letter from Shostakovich to Glikman).⁶²⁰

Although both Volkov and Taruskin are, without a doubt, brilliant, productive, and influential writers, even here the difference is significant. Volkov’s brilliance is in illuminating others. He was an early champion of the Soviet rock-and-roll movement and of nonconformist composers such as Arvo Pärt and Giya Kancheli, and he has encouraged iconic figures such as Shostakovich, George Balanchine, Joseph Brodsky, and Nathan Milstein to reveal their thoughts through him.⁶²¹ Taruskin’s brilliance, on the other hand, attracts attention to himself. Although he has praised a few figures such as Steve Reich, Vagn Holmboe, and Thomas Adès, has he truly championed them or had a positive impact on their careers? Probably not. Moreover, Taruskin usually does not report the news, he *is* the news; he does not share the spotlight with others, but basks in it himself.

1. ‘Tabloid Musicology’

One of Taruskin’s lasting ‘accomplishments’ may be the cultivation of a new type of journalism that we termed in *Shostakovich Reconsidered* ‘tabloid musicology’. Just as television news channels, newspapers, and magazines today are often dominated by political pundits, ‘talking heads’, and the like, so has the field of musicology, with Taruskin in the lead, moved in this direction. Taruskin is well aware that controversy sells⁶²² and relishes his role as ‘an agenda *upsetter*’ rather than an agenda setter.⁶²³ Accordingly, rather than conducting in-depth, first-hand research like most scholars and making a more positive contribution to the discipline, the latter-day Taruskin spends a significant amount of time spouting opinions, editorializing on the work of others, and even adopting other peoples’ ideas without credit.⁶²⁴ This is particularly true of his role

⁶¹⁹ Taruskin, *The Danger of Music*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2009, p. ix (hereafter *Danger of Music*).

⁶²⁰ Cf. note 431 above.

⁶²¹ Cf. *Balanchine’s Tchaikovsky: Conversations with Balanchine on His Life, Ballet, and Music*, New York, 1985; *From Russia to the West: The Music Memoirs and Reminiscences of Nathan Milstein*, New York, 1990; *Joseph Brodsky in New York*, New York, 1990; and *Remembering Anna Akhmatova: Conversations with Joseph Brodsky*, Moscow, 1992.

⁶²² Cf. ‘UO Today Show No. 382’, Taruskin’s interview with Steve Shankman at the University of Oregon, on the Internet at <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PzGotK8JToQ>>.

⁶²³ ‘Setting Limits’, *Danger of Music*, p. 447.

⁶²⁴ For example, in the mid-1970s Volkov informed Taruskin of the anti-Stasovian views of the Soviet Musorgsky scholars Marina Rakhmanova and Semyon Shlifsteyn, as well as Anatoly Tsuker, none of whom are acknowledged in *Musorgsky: Eight Essays and an Epilogue*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1993 (hereafter Taruskin, *Musorgsky*). Volkov and Taruskin’s discussion of this topic is alluded to in Taruskin’s 1976 letter of recommendation and in Volkov’s 1995 letter to the *Atlantic Monthly* (cf. pp. 182–83 above).

in the ‘Shostakovich Wars’, where he has done little original research, if any, while relying on the work of Fay and others. Unfortunately, the great musicologist often does not fact-check that which he passes along and, consequently, questionable and inaccurate information also takes on his own authority and tends to be accepted as fact, without question. As will be demonstrated below, even Taruskin’s superior mind is not immune from what scientists call ‘garbage in, garbage out’.

Three examples will suffice to document Taruskin’s fast and loose handling of facts. In ‘The Opera and the Dictator’, Taruskin writes:

In the days following Dmitri Shostakovich’s burial in August 1975, a story went around Moscow of a bearded stranger [Volkov] who elbowed his way through the crowd of mourners at the bier until he stood right between the composer’s widow, Irina, and his daughter, Galina. He stood there for no more than the time it took a woman, who popped up just as mysteriously at the other side of the deceased, to snap a picture, whereupon the two of them disappeared. The picture may be seen facing page 183 in *Testimony: The Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich as Related to and Edited by Solomon Volkov*. [. . .] Later that year, together with his wife Marianna, a professional photographer, he joined the great wave of Soviet Jewish emigration that followed in the wake of détente.⁶²⁵

As we noted in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, the vicious spreading of this libelous and totally unsubstantiated gossip is truly unbecoming a self-described ‘proper scholar’. Equally unbecoming is Taruskin’s insinuation that Marianna Volkov, ‘a professional photographer’, was the ‘mysterious woman’ at the funeral. Had he simply checked his facts, he might have ascertained that the picture opposite page 183 actually was taken by a male TASS photographer, V. Mastjukov,⁶²⁶ and only later obtained by Volkov. Furthermore, eyewitnesses (including Maxim and Galina Shostakovich, and Rodion Shchedrin)⁶²⁷ and additional photographs taken at Shostakovich’s funeral verify that Volkov was in attendance far longer than ‘the time it took [. . .] to snap a picture’. A photograph of Solomon and Marianna Volkov following Shostakovich’s coffin while it was still at the Moscow Conservatory, where the memorial service took place (i.e., hours before the burial), is included in Sofiya Khentova’s book *Shostakovich: Thirty Years (1945–1975)*;⁶²⁸ this and three other photographs taken at the Novodevichy Cemetery, each with a different mourner in the foreground and Volkov in the background (thereby documenting his presence longer than the time it takes to snap one picture), are also reproduced in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 308–9.

⁶²⁵ Taruskin, ‘Dictator’, p. 34.

⁶²⁶ Interview with ITAR-TASS personnel, Moscow, May 1996.

⁶²⁷ Conversations between Volkov and the authors, August 1995, and Galina Shostakovich and the authors, October 1995. Maxim Shostakovich, Rodion Shchedrin, and Aram Khachaturian all demonstratively embraced Volkov at the Novodevichy Cemetery, despite the fact that he was *persona non grata* as one who had applied to emigrate.

⁶²⁸ Sovetsky Kompozitor, Leningrad, 1982, after p. 288. Although this photograph is small and includes many people, Volkov’s image is unmistakable (three heads directly behind the left edge of the coffin). Others who were in this procession have confirmed Volkov’s position in this photograph.

Another example of Taruskin's rumor mongering style is his statement that Solzhenitsyn 'despised' Shostakovich for adding his name to a letter of denunciation of Sakharov:

When, in 1973, Shostakovich was approached with the demand that he sign a circular letter denouncing Sakharov, he again gave in with disastrous consequences for his reputation among his peers in the Soviet intelligentsia, including Mr. Solzhenitsyn, who despised him for it.⁶²⁹

Again, where is the evidence to support this? Significantly, after this material first appeared in print in 2000, Vladimir Ashkenazy asked Solzhenitsyn personally about Taruskin's claim. He reports that Solzhenitsyn was 'indignant' and provided the following statement for publication: 'I never despised Shostakovich — on the contrary, I understand that he had to make compromises with the Soviet authorities in order to save his art. I admire many of his symphonies, in particular Nos. 5, 7, 8, and 9'.⁶³⁰ It is shocking that Taruskin did not check his facts in 2000; it is shameful that he repeats this bogus claim, unaltered, in his *On Russian Music*, p. 326, published nine years later.

That Taruskin continues to practice such lazy, shady scholarship is evident in his other recent publication, *The Danger of Music*. Although this text is only minimally about Shostakovich, Taruskin cannot resist still another *ad hominem* attack on Volkov. In a brand new 'Postscript, 2008' on page 23, he mentions the latter's revelation of an anti-Semitic remark made by Shostakovich that Volkov says he saw in 1970 documented in one of Valerian Bogdanov-Berezovsky's diaries: 'Mitya came (according to the diary, he must have been sixteen years old), and for three hours they talked about the kike domination [*zasil'ye zhidov*] in the arts. Nowadays this seems unbelievable [. . .]'.⁶³¹ Volkov's statement now has been corroborated by Lyudmila Kovnatskaya, whose article 'Shostakovich i Bogdanov-Berezovsky (20-ye gody)' ('Shostakovich and Bogdanov-Berezovsky: the 1920s'), published nine years *before* Taruskin's book, quotes several passages from these same diaries, including one from 1921 that notes: 'Spoke with him [Shostakovich] about the domination of kikes, about monarchism'.⁶³²

Instead of investigating whether such a document actually existed, Taruskin, as is his wont, chooses to question Volkov's honesty, referring to him as the 'author of *Testimony*, the faked memoirs of Shostakovich' and claiming that 'Volkov has been caught in so many lies that it may be hard to accept anything from him as true. Even here, it could be argued, he might have had an ulterior motive — proving that he was not a hagiographer, for example — that could have tempted him to fabricate such a story'.⁶³³ *For Taruskin, the accuracy of Volkov's account is utterly beside the point.*⁶³⁴

⁶²⁹ Taruskin, 'Casting a Great Composer as a Fictional Hero', p. AR 43.

⁶³⁰ Ashkenazy, 'Papa, What if they hang you for this?', p. 8; emphasis added.

⁶³¹ From the article cited by Taruskin, Galina Drubachevskaya's, 'Zdes' chelovek sgorel' (Here a Man Burned Up), *Muzykal'naya Akademiya*, 3, 1992, pp. 3–14, translated in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 337.

⁶³² Kovnatskaya, *D. D. Shostakovich*, p. 35.

⁶³³ *Danger of Music*, p. 23.

⁶³⁴ Taruskin may wish to dismiss these examples as comments made for the popular press, just as Fay has tried to do to explain her *New York Times* 'rotten luck/wrong folk' article on *From Jewish Folk Poetry* (cf.

note 591 above). However, to be careless with facts *anywhere* raises questions about a scholar's basic methodology, conclusions, and *honesty* in more scholarly publications. Clearly, there is a 'good Taruskin' and a 'bad Taruskin', the serious scholar and the character assassin. As John Adams has pointed out:

Taruskin has two modes of writing, his formal musicological work and his 'pop' pieces for the *New York Times*. In the latter he has made a specialty of character assassination. This makes good copy. It's sort of like watching those tacky 'true crime' shows on television: there must always be a body count at the end, whether the target is Prokofiev, Shostakovich scholars, or anyone else he decides to humiliate. The operative mode for reading his pieces is *schadenfreude*. Like any true passive-aggressive, he delights in besmirching not only a person's artistic credibility but also in calling into question one's whole moral character (Anna Picard, 'John Adams: "It was a Rant, a Riff and an Ugly Personal Attack"', *Independent*, 13 January 2002; quoted in *The Danger of Music*, pp. 179–80).

Of course, the danger is that Taruskin's public and academic personae often become confused when others quote them or when Taruskin's more inflammatory prose is printed in book form and sits on the shelf beside his scholarly studies. In *The Danger of Music*, p. x, Taruskin comments on his dual roles: 'Clearly one *could* be both — couldn't one? Couldn't I aspire to a public role without compromising — or worse, being compromised by — my academic status?' Actually, the problem is the reverse. Carelessness and bias in his public writing raises serious and legitimate questions about his scholarship elsewhere.

We are not alone in calling attention to Taruskin's own errors. Robert Craft, in his autobiography *An Improbable Life*, Nashville, Vanderbilt Univ. Press, 2002, pp. 402–3, takes issue with Taruskin's article on Igor Markevitch (reprinted in *The Danger of Music*, pp. 118–23):

Described as 'tall, gauntly handsome, icily cultivated', and 'for more than five decades a spook of the first magnitude in the music life of Europe', he was actually of medium height, puny, with a pinched, expressionless face, and was never more than a marginal figure whose sole claim to fame was that at age sixteen he became Diaghilev's catamite. In 1929 'Diaghilev romanced [him] with a whirlwind tour', the article goes on, then 'returned to Venice exhausted, and died twelve days later'. In truth Diaghilev, refusing insulin, had died of diabetes. Markevitch denied that he had had any sexual affair with him, but Stravinsky saw him enter Diaghilev's sleeping compartment on the same Paris-to-London night train in July 1929.

Had Taruskin checked youtube.com, he could have seen that Markevitch was just of average height, *sans podium*. Other errors are easy to find. In *On Russian Music* Taruskin gives an incorrect date (1923) for Prokofiev's Second Violin Concerto, mixing it up with its predecessor. Also, in *Musorgsky*, p. 103, he places Berlioz in Russia for a birthday fête on 11 December 1868, whereas David Cairns, who discusses this trip in detail in his *Berlioz*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2000, Vol. 2, pp. 760–66, notes that the event actually took place the previous year. Charles Rosen also has written at length on the Taruskin's methodology and views, noting still other errors, biases, misquotations, distortions, and the like (cf. 'From the Troubadours to Frank Sinatra', *The New York Review of Books*, 53/3–4, 23 February and 9 March 2006, a review of Taruskin's *Oxford History of Western Music*; on the Internet at <<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/18725>> and <<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/18777>>).

Compounding the confusion over Taruskin's writings is the strikingly different manner he adopts as a 'historian' and as a 'critic', explained in his *Oxford History of Western Music*, 2005, Vol. 1, p. xxv:

The assertion that Shostakovich's music reveals him to be a political dissident is only an opinion, as is the opposite claim, that his music shows him to have been a 'loyal musical son of the Soviet Union' — as, for that matter, is the alternative claim that his music has no light to shed on the question of his personal political allegiances. [. . .] Espousing a particular position in the debate is no business of the historian. (Some readers may know that I have espoused one as a critic; I would like to think that readers who do not know my position will not discover it here.) But to report the debate in its full range, and draw relevant implications from it, is the historian's ineluctable duty.

Unfortunately, while the distinction between his roles as historian and critic may be perfectly clear in his own mind, others will wonder, which Taruskin are we to believe? Is it the 'historian' who in 2005

2. Inconsistencies and Hypocrisy

Besides passing off gossip and rumor as fact, Taruskin has been strikingly inconsistent with his own views. Perhaps the most glaring of these inconsistencies is his decision to quote a famous passage from *Testimony*, p. 183, in his *Oxford History of Western Music*, Vol. IV, pp. 695–96:

I think that it is clear to everyone what happens in the Fifth. The rejoicing is forced, created under threat, as in *Boris Godunov*. It's as if someone were beating you with a stick and saying, 'Your business is rejoicing, your business is rejoicing', and you rise, shaky, and go marching off, muttering 'Our business is rejoicing, our business is rejoicing'. What kind of apotheosis is that? You have to be a complete oaf not to hear that.

Such a quotation certainly was not necessary and is, in fact, rather shocking given Taruskin's decades of railing against Volkov and the memoirs. In 1989 he concluded that 'the reception of *Testimony* was the *greatest critical scandal* I have ever witnessed', that 'as any proper scholar could plainly see, *the book was a fraud*', and that Laurel Fay had 'meticulously' tested *Testimony's* claims and had '*absolutely demolished its credibility*'.⁶³⁵ He goes on to warn that 'even if the authenticity of *Testimony* could be vindicated, the equally troublesome question of its veracity would remain'⁶³⁶:

It is [. . .] understandable, should it ever turn out that Shostakovich was in fact the author of *Testimony*, that he, who though mercilessly threatened never suffered a dissident's trials but ended his days as a multiple Hero of Socialist Labour, should have wished, late in life, to portray himself in another light.⁶³⁷

That is, even if the words did come from Shostakovich's mouth and were read and approved by the composer, Shostakovich may have been lying through his teeth!

Given Taruskin's history of caution and skepticism towards *Testimony* — which he has dismissed not only as a 'fraud', but a 'pack of lies and base deceptions' and a

acknowledges, without bias, the opinion that Shostakovich's 'music reveals him to be a political dissident' or the 'critic' who for twenty-five years has actively sought to 'quash this fantasy image' because 'there were no dissidents in Stalin's Russia' (cf. pp. 54, note 222, and 200, note 662)? Is it the 'historian' who in 2005 treats Vladimir Stasov with kid gloves or the 'critic' who has lambasted him in multiple books and articles for distorting the true history of Russian music (cf. pp. 201–5)? Apparently, what Taruskin writes depends not only on his audience ('public' or 'academic'), but also on which hat he is wearing at the time.

⁶³⁵ Taruskin, 'Dictator', p. 34. Among those deemed by Taruskin not to be 'proper scholars' are Gerald Abraham, Detlef Gojowy, and Boris Schwarz, as well as Robert P. Morgan and Leo Treitler, whose revision of Oliver Strunk's landmark *Source Readings in Music History*, W. W. Norton, New York, 1998, pp. 1402–6, not only reprints a lengthy excerpt from *Testimony*, but concludes that 'Though efforts have been made to discredit this work, most Shostakovich scholars accept the work as authentic'.

⁶³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁶³⁷ In Fanning (ed.), *Shostakovich Studies*, p. 47.

‘reprehensible book’, whose very ‘citability’ remains in dispute⁶³⁸ — why, one wonders, does he quote from it in his own *magnum opus*? Is it possible that this self-proclaimed ‘proper scholar’ now believes the memoirs to be a credible source? No, Taruskin does not quote *Testimony* because he agrees with it; he quotes it because, in this particular instance, it agrees with *him*.⁶³⁹ As noted above, Taruskin will use any source — unsubstantiated gossip, rumor, lies, and even a book that he himself has branded a ‘fraud’ with an ‘absolutely demolished credibility’ — to bolster his case.⁶⁴⁰

Taruskin also has been inconsistent, and even hypocritical, in criticizing others who have commented on the meaning of works such as Shostakovich’s Eleventh Symphony. For Taruskin, such explication is ‘naive, unanswerable, and irrelevant’, and ends up unnecessarily limiting how one perceives a work.⁶⁴¹ He says about the Eleventh, a ‘loud noise from an orchestra is just a loud noise from an orchestra. It doesn’t inherently mean one thing or another’.⁶⁴² While it is true that the sounds themselves may have ambiguous meaning, Shostakovich always maintained that those with ‘ears to

⁶³⁸ *On Russian Music*, pp. 338 and 355.

⁶³⁹ This practice has become common both in print and at professional meetings: to criticize the memoirs, then borrow from it when it supports the writer or speaker’s position. Esti Sheinberg, in *Irony, Satire, Parody and the Grotesque in the Music of Shostakovich*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2000, is well aware of the controversy surrounding *Testimony*, but nevertheless refers to and even quotes from it, usually without qualification, on more than two-dozen pages. Louis Blois, similarly, proclaimed *Testimony* ‘useless’, ‘a seriously flawed piece of scholarship, and to quote Laurel Fay, merely an annoying inconvenience’ (‘Reflections on *Testimony*, A Decade Later’, DSCH-list, 13 December 2010), then a day later admitted:

I agree that *Testimony* provides a handy summary of the *true* Shostakovich, the man behind the official mask, the man that lay hidden from the public’s eye for so many decades of an otherwise illustrious career. I have even used *Testimony*, with disclaimer, in my lectures about Shostakovich for the reason that it offers such a cogent and persuasive set of quotations, of extractable sound-bites, that immediately get the point across to a general audience. In short, it’s a good script, and I admit, useful in that context (‘Re-Reflections on *Testimony* Many Decades Later’, DSCH-list, 14 December 2010).

⁶⁴⁰ Taruskin’s justifies this borrowing as follows:

The authenticity of *Testimony* has been seriously questioned, but in the end it is not relevant to the point at issue here, which is the way in which the folk reading has triumphed, both in Russia and abroad, over the official one as Soviet power grew weaker and eventually collapsed.

Maybe so, but surely Taruskin could have found something other than this self-described ‘fraud’ to illustrate his point.

⁶⁴¹ ‘Shostakovich and the Inhuman: Shostakovich and Us’, *Atlantic Monthly*; reprinted in *Defining Russia Musically*, pp. 472–73.

⁶⁴² In Mitchinson, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 310; also cf. *On Russian Music*, p. 307: ‘Guns go bang whether wielded by tsarists or Soviets, and all that Shostakovich had put into his score (that is, into “the music itself”) was the bang’. Elsewhere, Taruskin seems to complain about just the opposite — that is, not reading too much in a piece of music, but too little:

In November 2005, enjoying a year’s sabbatical, I dropped in on the national meeting of the Society of Music Theory, an organization of which I am a rather passive member, just to see what was up, and what I saw appalled me. The best-attended papers were in almost every case devoted purely to speculative or hypothetical theoretical systems. [. . .] Nobody claims that such ideas are useful, but why are they considered even interesting? (*Danger of Music*, p. xv).

hear',⁶⁴³ who take the 'time do so some thinking', would understand his intent. No greater contrast can be made than between Margarita Mazo's, Marina Sabinina's, Henry Orlov's, Rudolf Barshai's, and Solomon Volkov's native insights and that of 'America's most brilliant musicologist'. As noted on pp. 122–25 above, these Russian scholars and performers have not only heard but have commented on Shostakovich's hidden messages, to which Taruskin remains stone-deaf and close-minded. Remarkably, Shostakovich in *Testimony*, p. 234, appears to anticipate, and even respond to, the latter's skepticism:

Meaning in music — that must sound very strange for most people. Particularly in the West. It's here in Russia that the question is usually posed: What was the composer trying to say, after all, with this musical work? What was he trying to make clear? The questions are naïve, of course, but despite their naïveté and crudity, *they definitely merit being asked*. And I would add to them, for instance: Can music attack evil? Can it make man stop and think? Can it cry out and thereby draw man's attention to various vile acts to which he has grown accustomed? to the things he passes without any interest?⁶⁴⁴

Ian Macdonald, one of Taruskin's favorite targets, has commented at length on the latter's own inconsistent and illogical positions:

On the question of whether Shostakovich's Eleventh Symphony alludes, at the same time, to the 1905 Russian Revolution and the 1956 Hungarian Uprising, Taruskin writes: 'Did the composer intend it? The question is naïve, unanswerable, and irrelevant'. The question, quite obviously, is none of these. How, for example, can it be 'naïve' to ask what another person intends or intended? We spend our lives doing just that; indeed our criminal courts to a large extent function on finding answers to questions

⁶⁴³ A favorite Shostakovich expression. Cf. Wilson, pp. 317 and 346, and note 365 above.

⁶⁴⁴ Taruskin and Brown like to quote a statement by Shostakovich in *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, 3, 1933, p. 121, mocking a literal meaning attached to a musical work: 'When a critic, in *Worker and Theater* or *The Evening Red Gazette*, writes that in such-and-such a symphony Soviet civil servants are represented by the oboe and the clarinet, and Red Army men by the brass section, you want to scream!' (cf. *Defining Russia Musically*, pp. 480–81 and *Shostakovich Studies*, p. 53). However, was the young composer here rejecting all vivid and concrete images in music or merely a particular example? As it turns out, the older Shostakovich could be quite explicit in describing his own intent of a work. Cf. pp. 134–37 and 266 for his explanation to Yevtushenko and others of his intended meaning in the Seventh Symphony. Similarly, Valentin Berlinsky recalls:

Dmitry Dmitriyevich one day, as we were simply sitting — well, and also drinking a little vodka — said that although there was no programme for this quartet [No. 3] his idea was that the first movement depicted peaceful Soviet life. Nothing was occurring and everything was calm. The second movement was the beginning of the Second World War, although not yet in Russia; still outside the country, in Poland, Czechoslovakia [sings the first violin theme from bar 3 of the second movement]. The third movement is the tank armada invasion of Russian territory, the fourth movement a requiem for the dead, and the fifth movement a philosophical reflection on the fate of man' (Judith Kuhn, 'The String Quartets', *Cambridge Companion to Shostakovich*, p. 42).

of this sort. Were such questions ‘unanswerable’, it would, for example, be impossible to distinguish between murder and manslaughter. Nor is the fact that Shostakovich is dead guarantee that we can no longer discover his intentions. In the first place, we have the testimonies of those who knew him (testimonies which Taruskin arrogantly dismisses); in the second place, logic alone determines that we might yet find an explicit answer to this question in a document the composer wrote but which has not yet been discovered.⁶⁴⁵ That Taruskin wishes thus to impose ‘closure’ on a question which can have no expiry date confirms both his general lack of acquaintance with logic and his unprincipled drive, at all costs, to dictate the limits of the Shostakovich debate. [. . .] As for Taruskin’s desperate suggestion that Shostakovich’s intentions are ‘irrelevant’ to the understanding of his music, it is incredible that a supposedly intelligent participant in this debate should advance such an inane opinion at this late stage. Taruskin’s own expressed views on the Odessa letter, on the slow movement of the Fifth Symphony, and on the Eighth Quartet in general clearly show that he himself takes the composer’s intentions centrally into account. If what he has written in this devious and dishonest polemic means anything at all it is that views on Shostakovich’s intentions should be counted ‘irrelevant’ if they emanate from persons other than himself.⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴⁵ Consider Shostakovich’s 19 July 1960 letter to Glikman about the significance of musical quotations in his Eighth Quartet and his 29 August and 17 September 1953 letters to Elmira Nazirova explaining the E–A–E–D–A motive in his Tenth Symphony and its relation to Mahler’s *Das Lied von der Erde*, all of which came to light only long after the composer’s death.

⁶⁴⁶ Ian MacDonald, ‘The Turning Point’, *DSCH Journal*, 9, Summer 1998, p. 63, note 64. On the other hand, Taruskin emphasizes the need to view Wagner’s music in its proper historical and social context and, apparently, not just as ‘a loud noise from an orchestra’ with no inherent meaning:

It does no good to argue that the music itself is inherently nonpolitical and nonracist. The music does not now exist, nor has it ever existed, in a social vacuum. Its meanings are not self-contained. They are inscribed not only by its creator, but by its users, Nazi and Jew alike. Leonard Bernstein has written that ‘the “Horst Wessel Lied” may have been a Nazi hymn, but divorced from its words it’s just a pretty song’. Can we divorce it from its words? No more than we can follow the friendly sorcerer’s recipe for turning lead into gold (melt and stir for three hours without thinking of the word *rhinoceros*). To say we should try is like asking, ‘But aside from that, Mrs. Lincoln, how was the show?’ (*Danger of Music*, p. 22).

And why does Taruskin praise Kenneth Slowik’s recording of Schoenberg’s *Verklärte Nacht*? Because only a performance as sensitive as Mr. Slowik’s to all the minutely shifting narrative connections that Schoenberg’s program note sets forth [. . .] can make the most of the composer’s musical rhetoric and forestall the boredom that a too evenly paced, ‘purely musical’, performance of this thinnish composition all too easily invites (*Danger of Music*, p. 96).

MacDonald's last point is both important and valid. For example, in discussing Shostakovich's 'Odessa letter'⁶⁴⁷ Taruskin has no qualms deciphering the meaning of a discrepancy in two lists of twenty-eight names, in which only the initials of A. P. Kirilenko and A. I. Kirichenko are exchanged the second time. Here he does not claim that 'a mistake on the page is just a mistake on the page. It doesn't inherently mean one thing or another'. Instead, he concludes that Shostakovich was making a joke, 'portraying the pair as the Ukrainian nomenklatura's Dobchinsky and Bobchinsky, the Tweedledee—Tweedledum bureaucrats in Gogol's farce, *The Inspector General*'.⁶⁴⁸ Also in explicit self-contradiction, Taruskin devotes forty pages to pondering the hidden message of Shostakovich's Fifth Symphony, 'a richly coded utterance'.⁶⁴⁹

Even when discussing other composers' music, Taruskin freely elaborates on the meaning of a work while, at the same time, denouncing others for doing the same thing. For example, he is certain that the title "'Samuel" Goldenberg and "Schmuyle"' in *Pictures at an Exhibition* refers not to two Jews, but to one, taking into consideration Musorgsky's anti-Semitism, the quotation marks around the names in the 'unsanitized title' (which he notes Vladimir Stasov changed to 'Two Jews, Rich and Poor' only after the composer's death), and other factors. 'The only likely explanation — the explanation, at any rate that seems likely to me — is that we are dealing not with two *zhidy* but only one, and that the portrait is a brazen insult: no matter how dignified or sophisticated or Europeanized a *zhid*'s exterior, on the inside he is a jabbering, pestering little "Schmuyle"'.⁶⁵⁰

It should be emphasized that in *Shostakovich Reconsidered* and the present text we have not attempted to divine our own meanings for Shostakovich's works, but only to document the *composer's* views as expressed in *Testimony* and in conversations and letters to his family, friends, and colleagues. We do not believe that such knowledge limits how one hears, performs, or appreciates a work; on the contrary, knowing a composer's thoughts on his own music adds a new dimension that the listener is always free to accept or reject. Indeed, in most areas of musicology, information about the inspiration for or intent of a musical work is something valued and studied. Scholars willingly consider the title 'Eroica', the scratched out dedication to Napoleon, the background of the French Revolution, and the like in arriving at a more complete understanding of Beethoven's Third. Similarly, they relate the program of Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique* to the music as well as the composer's life and do not try to dismiss it or hide it from view. Even when a detailed program is attached after the fact, as with Liszt's *Les Préludes* or Strauss's *Death and Transfiguration*, these extramusical aspects are deemed worthy of consideration. However, not so in Shostakovich studies à la Taruskin. Taruskin himself may pontificate on a work, but no one else, not even the composer. This, it turns out, is consistent with his wholesale rejection of the authority of a composer's score. 'What would it take for Taruskin to say of a performance, "this just

⁶⁴⁷ *Story of a Friendship*, p. 135.

⁶⁴⁸ 'Shostakovich and Us', Bartlett (ed.), *Shostakovich in Context*, pp. 1–2, and *Defining Russia Musically*, p. 469.

⁶⁴⁹ Taruskin, 'Public Lies and Unspeakable Truths: Interpreting Shostakovich's Fifth Symphony', in Fanning (ed.), *Shostakovich Studies*, pp. 17–56.

⁶⁵⁰ Cf. the expanded discussion of this in *On Russian Music*, pp. 198–200.

doesn't count as an even minimally faithful rendition of Beethoven"? At what point would he invoke the authority of the score, for example, as limiting the liberties available to the performer?" Taruskin answers: "There is no such point at which I would invoke the authority of the score as limiting the liberties available to the performer. [. . .] Taking liberties is absolutely all right with me, *if it leads to a result I like*".⁶⁵¹

In his latest book, *The Danger of Music*, Taruskin distinguishes between criticism and censorship:

The confusion of criticism with censorship or worse is one of the paramount vices that chill the free exchange of ideas. It is nothing more than a crybaby tactic, and those who invoke it when their ox is the one being gored often learn to their cost that it can just as easily cut the other way.⁶⁵²

⁶⁵¹ *Danger of Music*, p. 450; emphasis added. James Richman, in 'Taruskin Agonistes: *Text and Act* Reconsidered', *American Recorder*, 39/4, September 1998, pp. 15–16, observes that Taruskin's attacks on other performers may be

a weird sort of revenge on those who rejected his performances in the diverse and active musical scene that characterized New York City in the 1970s. As a performer of Renaissance and Baroque music, Taruskin was widely viewed as hopelessly Romantic, disregarding information that had been wrung from the original sources and producing performances of Ockeghem and Couperin that could have been mistaken for Stokowski outtakes. When he finally understood that his colleagues didn't care to justify their basic attitudes at every rehearsal, Taruskin responded with, 'If I'm not authentic, none of you can be either'. [. . .] To save his self-esteem, the only path available was to dismiss the entire process as pointless and nowhere near as important as being true to oneself.

Of course, there is no particular contradiction between being true to oneself and respectful of the composer and his context, but for Taruskin there has to be, by definition. And therefore performers in the early music field are to be condemned for subjecting their own personalities to the composers'. Sadly for him, this is a problem only if your taste and self-interest are very much at odds with the composers. As with love, many are delighted to submit where others find only discomfort and disgust.[. . .]

Taruskin's advice to the players in our ensemble, Concert Royal, was inevitably 'don't worry about period practice, etc., just play it my way'. In chamber music, one plays the other members' way as a matter of course, but Taruskin's 'ideas' were so predictable and his defense of them based on such meager scraps that the situation soon became impossible. He left us when the members refused to surrender the right to pursue our impossible dream. Our (and others') rejection of his preferences didn't seem to bother him at the time, but I think that as he became more and more isolated, and as more and more evidence came in that left him on the wrong side of the facts, he may have become bitter.

Taruskin, at the very beginning of *Text and Act*, p. 3, acknowledges this controversy:

Some years after I had moved away from New York City and left my performing activities behind, I learned that a fable lived on there about a self-serving choir director who used to give dreadfully unauthentic performances of Renaissance music and who, when this was pointed out to him, resolved not to reform but instead to wreck the whole idea of authenticity. 'And that', the fable concludes, 'is why we can no longer use the word'.

Although he portrays this as a fable rather than fact, one wonders if rejection of Taruskin's performances influenced his decision to leave New York City for Berkeley, California, and to focus on writing.

⁶⁵² *Danger of Music*, pp. 92–93.

This observation is rather amusing in light of Taruskin's own attempt to censor us from criticizing him. In 1998 Allan Ho submitted an abstract for a paper to the national meeting of the American Musicological Society, the title of which questioned why the leading Western scholars in Russian music research had failed to report any of the evidence that corroborated *Testimony*: was it due to complacency, a cover-up, or incompetence?⁶⁵³ We expected these scholars to answer the question. They would not. Neither Fay, nor Taruskin, nor Brown would agree to be the official respondent, a role that eventually fell to David Fanning. Only later did we learn via Taruskin's 'Cramb Lecture' in Glasgow (2000) that he had written to Professor John W. Hill, a member of the American Musicological Society's Program Committee, in an attempt to have the paper rejected. According to Taruskin:

I was sent these abstracts by the program committee, together with an invitation to serve as a respondent at the session. Of course I objected to their being considered for presentation at a scholarly meeting, citing to Prof. John Hill, the program director, the AMS's own recently promulgated 'Guidelines for Ethical Conduct,' which read, in part: Free inquiry in the scholarly community assumes a sincere commitment to reasoned discourse, intellectual honesty, professional integrity, diversity of scholarly interests and approaches; openness to constructive, respectful debate and to alternative interpretations; and, withal, adherence to accepted standards of civility. [. . .] I regret to say not only that these abstracts were accepted, but that I also received a curt missive from Prof. Hill admonishing me for trying to suppress the airing of other opinions than my own. [. . .] At least I was able to embarrass Prof. Hill into sanitizing the abstracts for publication.⁶⁵⁴

Prior to this admission, we were unaware of these messages 'From Above'. We received emails on 8 July 1998 from Professor Hill merely requesting a modification in our

⁶⁵³ In *The Danger of Music*, p. 48, Taruskin asks: 'But is there no difference between a critic and a censor? No difference between raising a question and imposing a ban?' Here our 'crime' was merely questioning Taruskin et al.'s silence. Taruskin's desire to define censorship *his way* is evident in the brouhaha that ensued after the Boston Symphony canceled a performance of John Adams's *Death of Klinghoffer* after the 9/11 attack. Taruskin points out that the Taliban's censorship of music is bad; however, here the Boston Symphony displayed 'forbearance', 'discretion', and 'self control': 'Censorship is always deplorable, but the exercise of forbearance can be noble. Not to be able to distinguish the noble from the deplorable is morally obtuse' (*Danger of Music*, pp. 171 and 173).

⁶⁵⁴ Cf. Taruskin, 'Cramb Lecture', p. 30. The original and 'sanitized' abstracts are included on pp. 259 and 260 below. The most significant change was the removal of certain names at the end of the second paragraph, where the original read: 'Fay, Taruskin, and Brown also have been loathe to correct statements in their own and other writers' criticisms of *Testimony* which even they must now know are false and unjust'. This calls to mind how Kabalevsky, also behind the scenes, had his name removed from the list of composers condemned in 1948 (cf. note 368 above). Ironically, in *The Danger of Music*, p. xv, Taruskin justifies naming names in his own vitriolic criticism of others: 'In every case names are named (which has led to most of the bitterest controversy), not for the sake of scandal, but because it is always necessary to show that one is not arguing with straw men'.

abstracts. We agreed. We find it hilarious that Taruskin, the most rude and *uncivil* of modern musicologists, should now hide behind ‘guidelines for ethical conduct’ and ‘accepted standards of civility’ — the same Taruskin who accused Ian MacDonald of ‘vile trivialisation’ and the use of ‘McCarthyite’ and ‘Stalinist’ methods,⁶⁵⁵ and who did not object when Fay, at the 3 November 1995 national meeting of the American Musicological Society, called MacDonald’s *The New Shostakovich* a ‘moronic tract’.

Others, such as Marc Geelhoed, have previously commented on Taruskin’s own lack of civility and bully-like style:

Taruskin’s lusty bravado and the rude, put-down-laden qualities of some of his writing has always rubbed me the wrong way, since it’s more appropriate for a tabloid-writer or some paper you could pick up for free in a sidewalk kiosk. (It’s entertaining, but so is a cockfight.) The gloating, the I’ve-forgotten-more-than-you’ll-ever-know arrogance, the snide assertions, none of it is the finest way to discuss either the music, its practitioners or the words written about it. I’ve argued in the past that classical music shouldn’t be treated with kid gloves, or as if it’s not part of contemporary culture, but Taruskin’s intellectual thuggishness ultimately detracts from his arguments. [. . .] He’s like the schoolyard tough with a penchant for the obvious who finds the skinny kid on the playground, then says, ‘You know what your problem is? You’re too skinny!’ before beating him senseless.⁶⁵⁶

Similarly, Paul Mitchinson characterizes Taruskin as a ‘pit bull’ and goes on to describe his crude and unprofessional behavior at a Shostakovich conference in Glasgow in 2000. Besides calling others ‘idiotic’,

In a ninety-minute harangue that the *Glasgow Herald* found ‘hugely entertaining’, Taruskin mercilessly ridiculed opponents who had associated his views with everything from pro-Sovietism to anti-Semitism. Taruskin, who is Jewish, threatened to refute the latter charge by ‘drop[ping] my pants in silent protest’. (Discretion prevailed.) Anticommunism, he said with a street fighter’s bravado, ‘is one pissing contest I believe I could win’.⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵⁵ Fanning (ed.), *Shostakovich Studies*, pp. 52–53. Taruskin asks ‘And what kind of investigator builds sweeping forensic cases on such selectively marshalled evidence? To that question the answer is obvious, and sinister. [. . .] The critic’s method is precisely what is known in the West as McCarthyism. [. . .] / Ian MacDonald, it thus transpires, is the very model of a Stalinist critic’. On the other hand, Taruskin has not criticized either Fay or Brown for their own ‘selective marshalling of evidence’ (documented in detail in *Shostakovich Reconsidered* and the present text), even when he clearly disagrees, for example, with Fay’s position on *From Jewish Folk Poetry* (cf. note 587 above).

⁶⁵⁶ Marc Geelhoed, on the Internet at <<http://deceptivelysimple.typepad.com/simple/2007/10/heres-the-probl.html>>.

⁶⁵⁷ ‘Settling Scores’, *Lingua Franca* (dismissed by Taruskin in *The Danger of Music*, p. 92, as a ‘shortlived academic gossip mag’), July/August 2001, on the Internet at <<http://paulmitchinson.com/articles/settling-scores>>.

Here, even we must agree. When it comes to things like this, Professor Taruskin is, indeed, full of it.

In *On Russian Music*, Taruskin recycles part of his ‘Cramb Lecture’ and adds several new accusations that are grossly exaggerated and inaccurate. While these are tangential to our main topic, we will address them in the interest of full disclosure of the facts and because these examples further showcase the good professor’s professional ethics and standards, or lack thereof:

(1) On p. 17, Taruskin suggests that our AMS papers were accepted, over his objections, because ‘Prof. Hill had a personal relationship with Dmitry Feofanov, who had studied under him at the University of Illinois’. In fact, Mr. Feofanov, in the mid-1980s, signed up for one course with Professor Hill, ‘Problems and Methods’, but dropped it after having attended only a few class sessions. He was not a musicology student or an advisee of Professor Hill and his limited contact with him hardly constitutes a ‘personal relationship’. According to Prof. Hill (email of 4 February 2009), none of this influenced the Program Committee’s decision to accept our papers.

(2) On p. 21, Taruskin states that ‘Dmitry Feofanov, it has recently been divulged, is Volkov’s lawyer’. This insinuation of a conflict of interest is not based on first-hand research or hard evidence, but cites as sources Fairclough’s book review ‘Fact, Fantasies, and Fictions’ (2005), pp. 454–55, and Mitchinson’s ‘The Shostakovich Variations’ (2000), p. 54 (later reprinted in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 317). Fairclough states that ‘Feofanov . . . is his [Volkov’s] lawyer’, ostensibly basing this on Mitchinson’s earlier statement: ‘Dmitri Feofanov, now acting as Volkov’s lawyer, has issued Kjellberg a cease-and-desist order and has threatened to sue her for defamation if she persists in objecting to the book [*Conversations with Joseph Brodsky*] as having been unauthorized by Brodsky’. Neither Fairclough nor Mitchinson footnote their source, yet Taruskin rushes to accept this as fact. Actually, Mr. Feofanov represented Mr. Volkov on just one occasion and without fee. This was in response to a letter by Ann Kjellberg in the *Times Literary Supplement* (2 October 1998, p. 19) that included spurious charges against Volkov. Mr. Feofanov’s involvement was limited and temporary. He agreed to act for Mr. Volkov in this brief instance because Mr. Volkov’s longtime attorney had just passed away, the *TLS* had refused to print Volkov’s rebuttal, and Mr. Feofanov found Kjellberg’s allegations deplorable. Clearly, Taruskin’s broader claim that ‘Dmitry Feofanov is Volkov’s lawyer’ is false. Incidentally, Mr. Feofanov’s specialty is ‘lemon law’ and involves suing car dealers for consumer fraud; Mr. Volkov neither owns nor drives an automobile.

(3) Also on p. 21, Taruskin accuses us of a ‘flat-out lie about the state of the *Testimony* typescript’. This is addressed in detail on pp. 56–96 above. At the time *Shostakovich Reconsidered* was written, we had not seen the altered typescript later discussed by Fay; to the best of our knowledge, the first signature was on page one. He also accuses us of a ‘feigned independence from Solomon Volkov’ and questions our ‘objectivity of judgment’, citing an errant email circulated on DSCH-list on 4 March 1999 in which Allan Ho wrote: ‘Dmitry: do you still want to run this by SV first, or is it a go?’ We stated at our Mannes Conference that we began our investigation of *Testimony* with an open mind, determined to report whatever we found, and that Allan Ho was at first skeptical about the memoirs (*cf.* note 80 above). Clearly, by March 1999, based on the evidence we had accumulated, we were convinced of *Testimony*’s authenticity. According to Taruskin, allowing Volkov to preview our response to David Fanning’s critique of *Shostakovich Reconsidered* is ‘collusion’; we consider it simply collegiality and a courtesy.

As a final example of Taruskin’s inconsistent and hypocritical behavior, consider his oft-repeated claim that *Testimony* and its supporters view things in ‘one dimension’. This is a common tactic of unscrupulous scholars: to exaggerate another’s point to absurdity, then attack it.⁶⁵⁸ For example, in criticizing MacDonald’s *Testimony*-influenced discussion of the Seventh Symphony, Taruskin writes:

To uphold the view of the Seventh as exclusively anti-Stalinist one has to ignore the imagery of actual battle, as well as that of repulsion [. . .], and finally of victory[. . .]. These musical events can hardly be read out of the context of the war and its immediate, overriding urgencies, conditions that could not have been foreseen when Volkov’s Shostakovich claimed to have had his first thoughts of the Seventh.⁶⁵⁹

Of course, neither *Testimony* nor MacDonald view that the Seventh is ‘*exclusively* anti-Stalinist’; to the contrary, Hitler and Stalin are described as co-evils:

The Seventh Symphony had been *planned* before the war and consequently it *simply* cannot be seen as a reaction to Hitler’s attack. The

⁶⁵⁸ Matthew Westphal, reviewing *Text and Act*, makes the identical point:

Readers will also see why Taruskin has deeply infuriated so many people. He regularly makes inflammatory (if not downright insulting) statements at the outset of an essay and then backpedals in the middle. He quotes a statement by another writer or musician, draws implications from that statement that are far more extensive than the speaker apparently intended, and then demolishes those implications and often mocks the unwitting speaker (on the Internet at <<http://www.amazon.com/Text-Act-Essays-Music-Performance/dp/0195094581>>).

⁶⁵⁹ Richard Taruskin, review of the facsimile of Shostakovich’s Symphony No. 7, *Notes*, 50/2, December 1993, p. 759.

'invasion theme' has nothing to do with the attack. I was thinking of other enemies of humanity when I composed the theme.

Naturally fascism is repugnant to me, but not only German fascism, any form of it is repugnant. Nowadays, people like to recall the prewar period as an idyllic time, saying that everything was fine until Hitler bothered us. *Hitler is a criminal, that's clear, but so is Stalin.*

I feel eternal pain for those who were killed by Hitler, but I feel no less pain for those killed on Stalin's orders. I suffer for everyone who was tortured, shot, or starved to death. There were millions of them in our country before the war with Hitler began.

The war brought much new sorrow and much new destruction, but I haven't forgotten the terrible prewar years. That is what all of my symphonies, beginning with the Fourth, are about, including the Seventh and Eighth.

Actually, I have nothing against calling the Seventh the Leningrad Symphony, but it's not about Leningrad under siege, *it's about the Leningrad that Stalin destroyed and that Hitler merely finished off.*⁶⁶⁰

Contrary to Taruskin's deliberately deceptive redaction, *Testimony* and MacDonald acknowledge that multiple factors inspired the work, including not only Stalin and Hitler, but the *Psalms of David*. In a similar type of sleight of hand, Taruskin claims that 'revisionists' such as Ian MacDonald seek to portray all of Shostakovich's works as coded dissidence.⁶⁶¹ We call on him to prove that point. While writers like MacDonald have attempted to extrapolate dissident meanings onto some works not commented on by the composer, even he does not do so in the sweeping manner described by Taruskin.

At the same time that he criticizes others of viewing things one-dimensionally, Taruskin himself maintains that 'there were no dissidents in Stalin's Russia' and that Shostakovich cannot be considered a dissident because he was not executed and did not protest publicly.⁶⁶² Is there a more striking example of one-dimensional thinking, of the

⁶⁶⁰ *Testimony*, pp. 155–56; emphasis added; cf. *The New Shostakovich*, pp. 154–64.

⁶⁶¹ In the *Slavic Review*, 52/2, 1993, p. 397, Taruskin dismisses *The New Shostakovich* as a counter-caricature of Shostakovich, asserted in the teeth of the old official view (itself a transparent political fabrication and long recognised as such) that cast the composer as an unwavering apostle of Soviet patriotism and established ideology. Instead, we are now bade to believe, he was an unremitting subversive who used his music as a means of Aesopian truth-telling in a society built on falsehood [. . .]. The new view is as simpleminded and unrealistically one-dimensional as the old.

In 'Who was Shostakovich?', *Atlantic Monthly*, February 1995, one also finds statements such as the following:

when I do find myself listening to it [the Eighth Quartet], I seem to be listening to it the way that Ian MacDonald and other determined paraphrasts evidently listen to every Shostakovich piece. MacDonald himself reveals the danger of such listening when he comes to evaluate the Ninth and Tenth Quartets, works to which the musical imagination — my musical imagination — responds with less coercion and more imaginative energy. Finding in them little beyond the same anti-Stalinist program he finds in every Shostakovich piece [. . .] (reprinted in *Defining Russia Musically*, p. 495).

⁶⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 535:

pot calling the kettle black? Most sources, including the *Oxford English Dictionary*, define ‘dissident’ much more broadly than Taruskin, to include a person who disagrees with or dissents from something. This allows for the shades of grey absent from Taruskin’s limited use of the term, and justifies considering Shostakovich’s numerous acts of courage,⁶⁶³ even if behind the scenes or embedded in music⁶⁶⁴ and done without loss of his own life or freedom, as those of a ‘dissident’.⁶⁶⁵

3. ‘Irony’: Intended and Not

We have previously commented on Taruskin’s claim that Shostakovich ‘was perhaps Soviet Russia’s most loyal musical son’ and his belated attempt to explain this, in the absence of any real evidence to back it up, as unperceived irony. Perhaps another example of Taruskin’s irony is the comparison of his own career with that of Gerald Abraham, whom he views as ‘a powerful inspiration, role model, and target of emulation’ in *On Russian Music*, p. 2, and to whom he dedicated his *Musorgsky: Eight Essays and an Epilogue*. While they share some things in common, notably the same principal area of scholarship, wide-ranging interests, and voluminous writing for both academic and more general audiences, in terms of style and character two musicologists could not be further apart. Taruskin’s pitbull, leave-no-prisoners-behind style, overt bias, careless handling of facts, and the like are atypical of Abraham’s writings. In addition, while Abraham could disagree with another’s point of view, unlike Taruskin, he was himself rarely, if ever, disagreeable:⁶⁶⁶ would Abraham threaten to drop his pants at a professional meeting, call other commentators ‘idiotic’, or challenge them to a ‘pissing contest’? Even in the ‘Shostakovich Wars’, they were on opposite sides. Abraham began

if we claim to find defiant ridicule in the Fifth Symphony, we necessarily adjudge its composer, at this point in his career, to have been a ‘dissident’. That characterization, popular as it has become, and attractive as it will always be to many, has got to be rejected as a self-gratifying anachronism.

There were no dissidents in Stalin’s Russia. There were old opponents, to be sure, but by late 1937 they were all dead or behind bars. There were the forlorn and malcontented, but they were silent. Public dissent or even principled criticism were simply unknown.

⁶⁶³ *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 219–33. In ‘My, Nizhepodpisavshiyesya’ (‘We, the Undersigned . . .’), Kovnatskaya, *Shostakovich*, p. 409, Viktor Lapin also recounts how the composer sent letters in 1945 and 1954 in support of Pavel Vulfius, who had been arrested and declared a spy. Vulfius later taught music history at the Leningrad Conservatory, where his students included Solomon Volkov and Dmitry Feofanov.

⁶⁶⁴ Cf. Allan Ho’s ‘Dissident Meanings in Shostakovich’s Works’, on the Internet at <<http://www.siue.edu/~aho/musov/deb/dw.html>>.

⁶⁶⁵ For a lengthy and detailed rebuttal of Taruskin’s view, cf. Ian MacDonald’s ‘The Shostakovich debate: The Question of Dissidence’, on the Internet at <<http://www.siue.edu/~aho/musov/deb/qodx.html>>. Even Taruskin’s friend, Malcolm Hamrick Brown, has acknowledged that Shostakovich was, at times, a ‘closet dissident’ (*Notes*, 49/3, March 1993, p. 960; *melos*, 4–5, Summer 1993, p. 42).

⁶⁶⁶ Anthony Mulgan of Oxford University Press described Abraham as ‘indefatigable, demanding, rational, perfectionist and at all times courteous and considerate. If there is a better set of qualities embodied in one author, we haven’t come across him’. Eduard Reeser of the Directorium of the International Musicological Society also found him to be ‘an excellent scholar of exceptional versatility and, besides, as a charming personality, always willing to help others disinterestedly’ (‘A Birthday Greeting to Gerald Abraham’, *Music and Letters*, 55/2, April 1974, p. 135); emphasis added.

as a doubter of *Testimony*, but kept an open mind and by 1982, based on Kirill Kondrashin's whole-hearted endorsement and information he had obtained privately from a 'reliable source' in the Soviet Union, he concluded it to be genuine.⁶⁶⁷ Taruskin, on the other hand, initially was a supporter of the memoirs, and then turned fiercely against it, refusing to investigate the matter for himself or to consider, objectively, the wealth of evidence that has emerged supporting the memoirs and Volkov.

Should Taruskin wish to liken himself to another figure prominent in Russian music, perhaps a more suitable candidate would be Vladimir Stasov (1824–1906). This highly influential writer on the arts in Russia is today best known as a champion of the *Moguchaya kuchka* (i.e., the group of composers that included Balakirev, Borodin, Cui, Musorgsky, and Rimsky-Korsakov) and of the idea of Russian nationalism in music. Less remembered is the fact that he was also a big, loud, pushy, and obnoxious man, whom the Russian satirist Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin (1826–89) nicknamed, in a parodistic description of the 'Mighty Handful', 'Neuvazhai-Koryto'.⁶⁶⁸ 'Neuvazhai' implied that Stasov had no respect for anyone's opinions other than his own, while 'Koryto' (literally 'trough') evoked the image of something big, coarse, and dirty. 'Neuvazhai-Koryto', therefore, is one of those brilliant wordplays that conjures a precise image in a flash, but remains essentially untranslatable. Still, the phrase 'sewer mouth' may provide a close approximation.

The irony of this comparison is that Taruskin, for many years, has waged a ferocious battle with Stasov — or, rather, with Stasov's ghost, since the Russian critic himself, being dead for more than a hundred years, obviously cannot respond in kind to Taruskin's relentless assaults.⁶⁶⁹ Stasov, the 'master propagandist' and 'great mythologizer of Russian music'⁶⁷⁰ remains, in Taruskin's imagination, a *bête noir*: someone who willfully distorted the true picture of Russian music, which 'King Richard',

⁶⁶⁷ Gerald Abraham, 'The Citizen Composer', *The Times Literary Supplement*, 4 June 1982, p. 609.

⁶⁶⁸ 'Mezhdu Delom' ('Leisurely Observations'), *Otechestvennye Zapiski (Notes of the Fatherland)*, 1521, November 1874, pp. 288–97; previously cited by Alexandra Orlova in *Musorgsky Remembered*, transl. by Véronique Zaytzeff and Frederick Morrison, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1991, pp. 169–70, note 1. Saltykov-Shchedrin borrowed this nickname from the great inventor of whimsical Russian names, Nikolay Gogol, who introduced it in his *Dead Souls*, published in 1842.

⁶⁶⁹ Taruskin's first major writing on Stasov was his 1968 M. A. thesis at Columbia University, *Vladimir Vasilievich Stasov: Functionary in Art*. Stasov reappears regularly in his later works, like an *idée fixe*. Interestingly, just as Taruskin initially supported Volkov then turned against him, he also began as a believer of the Stasovian line before becoming his fiercest critic. In his *Musorgsky*, p. 34, he recalls:

While an exchange student at the Moscow Conservatory in 1971–72, I was assigned as *nauchnĭy rukovoditel'* [something a bit more than an adviser] one of the scholars who engaged in the polemic with Yuriy Tyulin, described above. I was of course assured that Golenishchev-Kutuzov's testimony was of no value and I allowed myself to be dissuaded from consulting him. [. . .] It was only when writing Chapter 8, published here for the first time, that I realized my own work was taking me in an inexorably anti-Stasovian direction, and I finally engaged with my natural preceptor.

Willem Vijvers, in a review of Francis Maes's *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar* in the *Musical Times*, Spring 2003, similarly noted a Stasov/Taruskin resemblance. Aware that Maes consistently parrots Taruskin's views, Vijvers likens him to 'those of Stasov's disciples who tried to emulate their mentor by attacking others in print'.

⁶⁷⁰ *On Russian Music*, p. 153, and "'Entoiling the Falconet": Russian Musical Orientalism in Context', *Defining Russia Musically*, p. 152, respectively.

as a mythical knight on a white horse, is destined to correct and proudly present to a cheering and grateful world.⁶⁷¹

Taruskin's obsession with Stasov sheds interesting light on his similar obsession with Volkov, *Testimony*, and the 'Shostakovich Wars', still another long-lived, and personal, jihad to set the record straight. In his battle with Stasov, Taruskin seeks to dispel the 'Musorgsky myth' (i.e., the long established view of that composer that continued to be upheld by Soviet scholars). He concludes that

Stasov's Musorgsky was Stasov's creation — in more ways than one. He manufactured not only Musorgsky's historiographical image but also, to a considerable extent and for a considerable time, the actual historical person.⁶⁷²

In refuting the 'Musorgsky myth', Taruskin calls attention to the little-known memoirs of Count Arseny Arkad'yevich Golenishchev-Kutuzov (1848–1913), whose poems were used in Musorgsky's *Sunless* (1874) and *Songs and Dances of Death* (1875–77) and who probably had an intimate relationship with the composer. About Golenishchev-Kutuzov's portrait of Musorgsky, which was intended to serve as an antidote to Stasov's,⁶⁷³ Taruskin writes:

What shall we make of these memoirs, which so perfectly invert the long-accepted view of the composer. Soviet writers have never had any doubt. Golenishchev-Kutuzov has been consistently dismissed on the tautological grounds that as a representative of 'monarchism and Black-Hundreds reaction', he cannot speak for a 'populist' like Musorgsky. 'A courtly dignitary and aristocrat like Count Kutuzov, closed off in his proud secluded sphere', wrote Keldish, 'in the final analysis did not and could

⁶⁷¹ Cf. Marina Ritzarev, 'Richard Taruskin: Knight of Russian Music', *European Legacy*, 3/6, November 1998, pp. 65–75. She concludes saying, 'I look upon the author as a knight serving the cause of Russian music and culture in general, and I am grateful to him for giving Russian music, through this book [*Defining Russia Musically*], its proper and deserved place. As a colleague, I congratulate Richard Taruskin with all my heart for this outstanding work, which I consider to be musicology's book of the century'.

⁶⁷² *Musorgsky*, p. 8. As noted on p. 193 above, he also attributes to Stasov the change in title of "'Samuel" Goldenberg and "Schmuyle"' in *Pictures at an Exhibition* to 'Two Jews, Rich and Poor', which long disguised its intended meaning, and elsewhere he elaborates on Stasov's skill in 'applying makeup to a genius's flaws':

Stasov's tactics are worth savoring. At first he acknowledged Mussorgsky's shortcomings, merely asking that they be kept in perspective. But soon he was insinuating that those finding fault with Mussorgsky's technique had 'displayed their incapacity to understand his talented innovations, the novelty of aims and the profundity of his musical expression'. Finally, he asserted that 'despite all his imperfections', Mussorgsky 'has irresistibly affected the spirit and emotions of those of his listeners who have not yet been spoiled by school, by classrooms, Italian habits and vapid traditions' ('A New, New "Boris"', *The New York Times*, 14 December 1997; reprinted in *On Russian Music*, p. 153).

⁶⁷³ *Musorgsky*, p. 18.

not understand a great artist-democrat and humanist like Musorgsky, who burned with bitter pain on behalf of all oppressed, suffering and deprived humanity'.⁶⁷⁴

Golenishchev-Kutuzov's text was completed in 1888, but published only in 1935, with an introduction and commentary by Yury Keldysh that Taruskin reports takes up 'far more space than the memoirs themselves, and (in a fashion typical of Soviet source publications of the period) keep up something of a running feud with the object they ostensibly illuminate':

The main strategy was to question at every point the closeness of the poet's relationship to the composer, and to cast their break in ideological terms. One especially intransigent Soviet specialist, absolutely unwilling to let Musorgsky off the Stasovian hook, has actually tried to debunk the relationship from start to finish — 'and did it even exist, this closeness, or was it just the influence of Musorgsky's mighty personality on a youthful, not yet fully formed friend (?), and did not Musorgsky passionately, painfully exaggerate the degree of his rapport with the co-author of the *Songs and Dances of Death* out of craving for spiritual support and emotional warmth?'⁶⁷⁵

Taruskin defends these memoirs against such charges, citing twenty-six surviving letters from composer to poet that document their personal relationship and noting even the former's manner of addressing the latter with the 'familiar second-person pronoun'.⁶⁷⁶ He acknowledges that 'if the memoirs could be shown to reflect changed attitudes, at variance with those entertained at the time of the purported friendship they describe, this could be claimed as evidence to discredit them'. However, he finds no such fatal flaws. He reports that 'the really tough nut for Soviet scholars in Golenishchev-Kutuzov's memoir has always been Musorgsky's reported rejection of the Revolutionary scene in *Boris*'. For example, Keldysh, who accepts Stasov's view of the composer, writes:

It is hard to verify whether such words were ever spoken by Musorgsky; but even if they were, they do not furnish proof of the author's true attitude toward the scene in question. From reports of Golenishchev-Kutuzov, and others as well, we are familiar with Musorgsky's mildness and changeability, and his way of submitting to the influence of his interlocutors, to whom he was often inclined to give in. Casually, under the influence of a passing mood, he might throw out a phrase for which he himself might not vouch afterward. But in the given instance, taking the general polemical tendency of Golenishchev-Kutuzov's 'Reminiscences' into account, the faithfulness of his transmission of Musorgsky's words

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 25–26.

⁶⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁶⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 26–27.

inspires involuntary [!] doubt, since they all too plainly contradict Stasov's opinion.⁶⁷⁷

Doesn't this sound strangely familiar? Weren't the same objections raised with *Testimony*? First they claimed that Shostakovich and Volkov met only three times; next that Shostakovich would never have said such things; and finally, that if he did say such things, he must have been influenced by Volkov, didn't really mean them, and never would have approved publishing them.⁶⁷⁸ However, as we have demonstrated in *Shostakovich Reconsidered* and the present text, the so-called errors, contradictions, and controversial passages in *Testimony* are, in fact, repeatedly on the mark.

Ironically, Taruskin's role in his battle with Stasov is actually the opposite of his role in the 'Shostakovich Wars'. In the former, Taruskin is a 'revisionist', correcting the Stasovian/Soviet 'Musorgsky myth', while citing Golenishchev-Kutuzov's posthumously published memoir as corroboration of this 'new Musorgsky'. In the 'Shostakovich Wars', Taruskin is an 'anti-revisionist', who adamantly refuses to accept the 'new Shostakovich' that emerged from another set of posthumously published memoirs, *Testimony*, despite mounting evidence that it, too, portrays a more accurate view of the composer than Soviet-era propaganda. One wonders how things might have been different had Taruskin himself discovered the Shostakovich memoirs and brought them to light. Would he now be arguing in its favor, finding hidden meanings in the composer's works, and vehemently opposing Fay's 'rotten luck/wrong folk' hypothesis? One also wonders if Taruskin's vicious personal attacks on Volkov stem from the fact that the latter usurped Taruskin's usual position as 'myth buster', beating him to the punch, so to speak, and leaving him with the rather uncomfortable and less desirable role as anti-revisionist (i.e., on the same side as Khrennikov and other Soviets).

A final irony is that Taruskin has himself become something of a Stasov (i.e., that which he criticized). He describes the latter as

the most prolific and polymorphic arts journalist Russia has ever known. [. . .] His tone was ear-splitting, his style at once hectoring and prolix, gratuitously redundant, supererogatory. His arguments gave new meaning to the word tendentious. Though his works are an inexhaustible mine — of gold, pyrites, and sheer dirt — and exert the inevitable fascination of eyewitness reportage, he is about the most annoying writer in the Russian language.⁶⁷⁹

Isn't it Taruskin now, more than anyone, who has adopted Stasov's methods and character? Isn't it Taruskin now who is the big, loud, pushy, obnoxious man who attempts to subjugate everyone to his own views and attacks indiscriminately any moving

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁶⁷⁸ Just as Tishchenko claimed that *Testimony* is not 'even a book by Volkov about Shostakovich, but a book by Volkov about Volkov' (*Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 51), Keldysh similarly dismissed Golenishchev-Kutuzov's memoirs as 'more revealing of their author's ideological path than they are of Musorgsky's person' (*Musorgsky*, p. 26, note 57).

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

object in sight so as to be able to declare himself ‘king of the hill’ or the alpha male? On the other hand, Stasov, in spite of his personal and professional faults, was a great national figure and a leading spokesman of important cultural movements in music and the arts. Taruskin, it appears, is neither of these.

It is not appropriate here to undertake a thorough assessment of Taruskin’s work in both the academic and public arenas; to devote more space to Taruskin instead of Shostakovich would be akin to having the tail wag the dog. In time, other scholars, specialists in particular areas, will examine more closely not only Taruskin’s views on the ‘Musorgsky myth’, the ‘Shostakovich myth’, the ‘Beethoven myth’, the ‘authentic performance myth’, the ‘authority of the composer and score myth’, the ‘story of twentieth-century music myth’, the ‘*Rite of Spring* myth’, and the like, but the equally important issue of the ‘Taruskin myth’. As demonstrated above, the notion that Taruskin, in the ‘Shostakovich Wars’, is a knight on a white horse (1) saving the world from the ‘lies and deceptions’ of Allan Ho,⁶⁸⁰ Volkov, and other ‘revisionists’, (2) defending the American Musicological Society’s ‘guidelines for ethical conduct’ and ‘standards of civility’, and (3) debunking the myth of Shostakovich as a dissident is itself sheer fantasy, a delusion. In fact, he is often guilty of the very faults that he ascribes to, and viciously criticizes in, others.

To be sure, Taruskin’s fine intellect, panoramic knowledge, varied interests, and prodigious literary talent could have made him the greatest musicologist of all time. The question is, did he rise to that exalted level or squander his gifts and become, in the end, just a second-rate Stasov⁶⁸¹ — a ‘Neuvazhai-Koryto’? Even Robert Craft notes, with some regret, that ‘Richard Taruskin, the meticulous scholar I first met eight years ago and through correspondence came to know and like, has lately turned into a sloppy, thersitical journalist, more judgmental than Dr. Johnson’.⁶⁸²

⁶⁸⁰ *Danger of Music*, pp. 23 and 321. Taruskin singles Ho out for special criticism because he holds a Ph.D. in musicology as well as a faculty position at a university. Unlike the journalists (MacDonald), fiddlers (Volkov), and lawyers (Feofanov), whom Taruskin readily dismisses, how dare Ho question the ‘Great Musicologist’ of our time?

⁶⁸¹ Taruskin’s own *Moguchaya kuchka* appears to be his group of five like-minded scholars, to whom he cryptically dedicates his *On Russian Music*: ‘To Lenočka, Loročka, Miločka, Ritočka, and especially to Malcolm Hamrickovich on his jubilee’ (i.e., Elena Dubinets, Laurel Fay, Lyudmila Kovnatskaya, Margarita Mazo, and Malcolm Hamrick Brown, respectively). A mighty handful, indeed!

⁶⁸² *Danger of Music*, p. 216; for the full text, in which Craft mentions a number of errors and distortions by Taruskin, cf. ‘“Jews and Geniuses”: An Exchange’, *The New York Review of Books*, 36/10, 15 June 1989, on the Internet at <<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/3999>>. As Taruskin points out, ‘thersitical journalist’ is ‘an allusion to Homer’s Thersites (the mocker from the sidelines in *The Iliad*)’; ‘Dr. Johnson’ is, of course, Samuel Johnson (1709–84), who dismissed opera, which he himself didn’t like, as ‘an exotic and irrational entertainment’ (*Dictionary of the English Language*), and mocked a female Quaker preacher, saying, ‘Sir, a woman’s preaching is like a dog’s walking on his hinder legs. It is not done well; but you are surprised to find it done at all’ (James Boswell, *Life of Johnson*).

IX. A Question of Methodology

‘... there are far worse things one can be than wrong:
one can be lazy; one can be incompetent; one can be dishonest.
If one is diligent, competent, and honest, one need not fear being wrong’.
(Richard Taruskin, *On Russian Music*, p. 23)

1. ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’

In other areas of research, scholars spare no effort to look under every rock and to collect every shred of evidence. However, in the rather bizarre world of Shostakovich studies, a different methodology often prevails. Some scholars claim to seek nothing but the truth: for example, Brown asserted, in a letter of 27 September 1997, that he, Fay, and Taruskin ‘are now and always have been interested first of all in establishing the truth [. . .] about how *Testimony* was put together’. Their actions, however, speak otherwise. Consider two statements made by Laurel Fay on 3 November 1995 at the national meeting of the American Musicological Society:

What I wish for right now is an approach to Soviet music scholarship no more revisionist than a healthy dose of the old musicology; painstaking basic research and fact finding guided by open minds and common sense, rather than by polemical agendas, shopworn clichés, and double standards.⁶⁸³

Yet, when asked if she had contacted Shostakovich’s friends and family while researching her biography of the composer, Fay responded ‘no’, because she considers this information, as a whole, less reliable; she also stated: ‘I didn’t want to become compromised by having them tell me their stories and then being obliged somehow to retell them’.⁶⁸⁴ This is a most peculiar methodology for someone longing, at the same time, for ‘painstaking basic research and fact finding guided by open minds and common sense’.

In contrast to Fay, Brown in *A Shostakovich Casebook* acknowledges the value and urgency of collecting exactly these types of reminiscences from Shostakovich’s friends and family. Reviewing Wilson’s *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*, he writes:

This is a remarkable book, filled with remarkable revelations, unforgettable stories, and poignant images. [. . .]

Wilson was motivated to take on this project by the conviction that ‘*now is the time*, while some key witnesses are still alive, to try and tap living memory’ (p. xi). She set about to interview everyone who she

⁶⁸³ *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 287, note 3.

⁶⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 246 note 17. For other specific examples of Fay’s dubious methodology, cf. Ian MacDonald’s review of *Shostakovich: A Life* on the Internet at <<http://www.siue.edu/~aho/musov/fay/fay.html>>.

could identify who might have had some significant association with Shostakovich [. . .].⁶⁸⁵

Clearly, a proper scholar does not dismiss sources out of hand before learning what, if anything, they have to contribute. Yet, as has been demonstrated repeatedly, Fay's selective scholarship is evident both in her book *Shostakovich: A Life* and in her contributions to *A Shostakovich Casebook*. Fay has declined speaking to people who knew Shostakovich well and who might shed valuable light on *Testimony*, because memory is fickle and these reminiscences might be skewed by personal or 'polemical agendas':⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁸⁵ Brown, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 265–66; emphasis added.

⁶⁸⁶ Three personal observations of Fay over the past twenty years are worth quoting. Michael Kerpan reported in *DSCJ Journal*, 7, Summer 1997, p. 18:

[In early 1987] I had the opportunity of participating in a small group discussion with Ms. Fay. I was interested in her critique of Volkov's 'methodology' but disconcerted by her basic attitude. It was clear that she did not feel worthy of academic investigation the official Soviet line that Shostakovich was always a devoted party man. These are the 'facts' as I see them — she had special privileged access to Soviet archives and she was contemptuous of anyone who questioned the official Soviet interpretation of Shostakovich.

Alice Nakhimovsky added, in an email of June 2001 to Ian MacDonald:

I should tell you that I went to graduate school with Laurel Fay. I was in literature, and she, of course, in music, but we were friends and attended at least one seminar together. I haven't seen her in many years, and her pronouncements on Shostakovich caused me great distress. The motivation could not be ignorance of the context. I remember her as a real iconoclast, and I think that after her discovery about Volkov's book she seized on the opportunity to stake out a contrarian position and just stuck with it.

Finally, Maya Pritsker, head of the Art Department for the American Russian daily newspaper *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, stated publicly during the Shostakovich session at the Mannes College of Music, 15 February 1999:

You should know that Laurel Fay was working for the Schirmer publishing house for a long time, and I think she's still there. And in this capacity she came to Russia quite frequently. She became probably the only person who frequently visited the Soviet Union for a long time. So a whole lot of information came to her through VAAP, the agency of the authorship — which was headed by a KGB agent, as you know — and also through the Union of Composers. I knew that because I was living then in Moscow. I was a member of the Union of Composers as a musicologist, and I talked to Laurel. So I know her views. If she'd spoken against the situation, she probably wouldn't have been allowed back into Russia. She would have lost her position as a leading specialist in Soviet music at that time. [. . .] Malcolm Brown also visited frequently and had very close connections with the head of the Union of Soviet Composers [Tikhon Khrennikov]. So this is probably part of the explanation.

Pritsker here is referring to Fay's longtime employment at G. Schirmer, which began in the 1980s and is now defined as 'Consultant, Russian and CIS Music/Copyright Restoration Project'. She suggests that Fay, as a representative of Schirmer, would have been in a difficult position to oppose VAAP's official stand on *Testimony* and Volkov without jeopardizing the 'fruitful political and monetary relationship' between VAAP and Schirmer (mentioned by A. Lebedev in *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, 6, 1975, pp. 99–101).

Reminiscences can be self-serving, vengeful, and distorted by faulty memory, selective amnesia, wishful thinking, and exaggeration. They can be rife with gossip and rumor. The temptation to recast the past to suit the present — especially now, when the victims and survivors of the Soviet ‘experiment’ are grappling with discomfiting issues of complicity and culpability with a shameful past — can be hard to resist. In any case, factual accuracy is not generally one of their most salient features.⁶⁸⁷

While acknowledging the need for caution with all materials dealing with Shostakovich, Fay prefers to focus instead on official documents of the Soviet era, seemingly unaware of their provenance in the dungeons of the ‘Ministry of Truth’, and on Shostakovich’s letters, in the belief that these are more accurate and reliable.⁶⁸⁸ Others have already questioned her reasoning and methodology. Diane Wilson notes that heavy reliance on written documents is

not necessarily a safe thing to do in a society with a free and open press, and becomes very problematic for a prominent Soviet citizen. Were articles published in Soviet books, journals, and newspapers true and accurate? Were they free of political influence? Can anyone verify the authorship of any of these?⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸⁷ Fay, pp. 2–3.

⁶⁸⁸ A prime example of the dangers of relying on written Soviet documents concerns Shostakovich’s joining the Party in 1960. As noted in the reminiscences of Isaak Glikman, Maxim, Galina, and Irina Shostakovich, Lev Lebedinsky, and others close to the composer, this event caused the composer much emotional turmoil (*cf.* pp. 36–37 above). Yet, as Khentova reports, none of this is evident in the official record:

I was allowed to look through all the material concerning this event [Shostakovich joining the Party]: who spoke to him, what about, details of his application (written in his own hand), minutes of the meetings and so on. In this way the documents proved to me that no one had forced him to join the Party. There is no proof for this, as the documents showed (‘St. Petersburg Special: Part 1’, *DSCH Journal*, 13, July 2000, p. 29).

⁶⁸⁹ Diane Wilson, *DSCH-list*, 18 May 2002. In addition, C. H. Loh, writes:

In her new book, she [Fay] proudly claims Soviet-era printed material (newspaper and magazine articles, Soviet biographies and letters written under severe censorship) to be the most objective source. Here she gingerly qualifies their reliability with disproportionate mildness compared to the manner in which she slams the door shut on accounts of friends [. . .]. What is laughable is the amount of skepticism one is asked to apply to documents such as Wilson’s personal accounts and *Testimony*, while *Pravda* is held to be the word of the truth (oh, but *Pravda* means ‘truth’ in Russian does it not?). [. . .]

Her idea that Shostakovich was neither dissident nor a Soviet communist-loyalist but something in-between, a complex character and an enigma, begins to sound like an easy way to worm out of an embarrassing situation of having pitched for the wrong team. [. . .] In the end *A Life* is not so much a book about Shostakovich as it is a book about who Fay needs Shostakovich to be, which is a terrible waste of an excellent opportunity for the author (*DSCH Journal*, 12, January 2000, pp. 16–17).

Louis Blois adds:

[. . .] however filtered, distorted and unreliable that resource may seem, *Testimony* presents at least a reflection of possible interpretation, a set of potential leads and signals to which the scholar's antenna should be keenly attuned. In some instances, Fay has chosen to ignore such possibilities, and even goes so far as to completely shun the corroborating evidence presented by Feofanov and Ho's *Shostakovich Reconsidered* and elsewhere. It is a decision that at times leads to awkward moments, such as in her already infamous discussion of the cycle *From Jewish Folk Poetry* in which her own trail of footnotes touches upon evidence that would contradict her view of the work's conception. Another instance occurs in her discussion of the Eleventh Symphony (1956–7) where she dismisses the contemporaneous Hungarian uprising as a possible source of the composer's inspiration, citing a lack of 'available evidence'. In fact, *Shostakovich Reconsidered* does present interesting documentation to the contrary (corroborating that found in *Testimony*).⁶⁹⁰

Fay's selective reporting of evidence not only about *From Jewish Folk Poetry* and the Eleventh Symphony, but about *Testimony* and other issues, and her ignoring of 'potential leads and signals to which the scholar's antenna should be keenly attuned' is particularly disturbing because most readers have to rely on the few Western experts fluent in Russian to translate and disseminate pertinent information. If these experts withhold information and then claim a lack of 'available evidence', how can others draw valid conclusions?

Malcolm Brown and Richard Taruskin's silence regarding Fay's selective scholarship is equally peculiar. Since neither have publicly questioned Fay's justification for not speaking with the friends and family of Shostakovich — so as 'not to be compromised' or 'obliged' to repeat all their stories (some of which might even support *Testimony* and its portrait of the composer) — let us consider their own statements. In *A Shostakovich Casebook*, Brown differentiates between a 'responsible scholar' and a 'music journalist': 'a responsible scholar eschews on principle data known to be skewed, no matter how attractive it may appear in support of one or another pet hypothesis. Ian MacDonald, however, is a music journalist'.⁶⁹¹ Yet, as demonstrated repeatedly in this book, Brown himself has not eschewed 'data known to be skewed', but embraced it. He reproduces, without comment or qualification, denunciations of the memoirs that appeared in the Soviet press in 1979, Irina Shostakovich's hearsay allegations, Orlov's spurious examples of errors in *Testimony*, Mitchinson's interpretation of Litvinova's words that is at odds with her own statements, and the like. Indeed, one wonders why Brown did not ask his contributors simply to check their facts.

Brown likely will claim, again, 'I didn't know'.⁶⁹² But a responsible scholar makes it his business to know.

⁶⁹⁰ Louis Blois, review of *Shostakovich: A Life*, *DSCH Journal*, 13, July 2000, p. 44.

⁶⁹¹ Brown, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 263.

⁶⁹² Cf. 'Arena', *DSCH Journal*, 9, Summer 1998, pp. 37–40, in which Brown earlier acknowledges being unfamiliar with evidence pertinent to the *Testimony* debate.

2. 'Don't Seek, Don't Find'

Taruskin, too, has voiced some revealing thoughts on research, at least as it pertains to the 'Shostakovich Wars'. In his Cramb Lecture (2000), he recalls that 'a wise old professor of mine used to say, you'll always find what you're looking for'.⁶⁹³ While it is true that looking for something may increase your chance of finding it, more important is the corollary, which apparently has escaped Taruskin these many long years: *you are less likely to find something if you don't look for it*. For thirty years, Fay, Taruskin, and Brown have looked for information that casts doubt on the memoirs, but not for information that would corroborate it, and then they claim a lack of 'available evidence':

- They have refused to ask Flora Litvinova about when Shostakovich told her about his collaboration with a young Leningrad musicologist or to investigate how many of the six signatories to 'Pitiful Forgery' actually had read *Testimony* before they denounced it;
- They have refused to ask Irina Shostakovich to identify the 'everybody' who she said in 1978 knew about the memoirs or to verify her more recent claims;
- They have refused to contact people who were aware of *Testimony* while it was in progress or who worked with the Russian typescript early on, such as Galina Drubachevskaya, Yury Korev, Seppo Heikinheimo, and Hedy Pross-Weerth.

At the same time, isn't it curious how evidence casting a shadow on *Testimony* emerges only after key people have died? For example, if Leo Arnshtam (1905–80) or Lev Lebedinsky (1904–92) were genuinely suspected of being 'deep throats' collaborating with Volkov, why were they not asked about this before their deaths, one and thirteen years, respectively, after *Testimony* was published? If Isaak Glikman (1911–2003) had any reservations about Volkov and *Testimony*, as stated in his note of 20 November 1979 recently put forward by Fay via Irina Shostakovich, why was he not asked about this before his own death, twenty-four years after *Testimony* was published?⁶⁹⁴ As usual, Fay does not want to investigate *why* Glikman's note was written (1) immediately after VAAP had decided, after losing the copyright battle, to brand the memoirs a forgery and to distribute disinformation about it; and (2) at the same time that signatories were being assembled to denounce a text that they had not read for

⁶⁹³ Taruskin, 'Cramb Lecture', p. 34.

⁶⁹⁴ Glikman told Alexander Izbitser, a former student and later a close friend (*cf.* 'Glikman on Shostakovich: Beyond Pisma', *DSCH Journal*, 30, January 2009, pp. 7–16), that Irina Shostakovich forbade him to speak publicly about Volkov. However, after Irina published 'Myortvye bezzashchitny?' ('Are the Dead Defenseless?') in August 2000 (*cf.* pp. 39–55 above), Izbitser persuaded Glikman to document his own longheld criticisms of Volkov (quoted on pp. 212–13 below).

themselves. In fact, she criticizes those who would question the timing of Glikman's note, dated less than a week after 'Pitiful Forgery' was published: 'Why did Glikman write this? Maybe he was asked to . . . I wouldn't be surprised if Volkov were to impugn Glikman's motives'.⁶⁹⁵ Fay even uses Glikman's note to suggest that Shostakovich opposed writing his memoirs:

Glikman says Shostakovich was very irritable about writing any memoirs — he was very negative about being asked for his reminiscences and reacted with scorn when asked if he would like to write about Mikhail Zoshchenko — (Glikman states) 'I asked him to write about his piano teacher — I would sketch out the memoirs — he answered in a fit of temper — "I know how to write music, not memoirs" . . . this was five months before his death — I remembered this in terms of Volkov's memoirs — I can't believe Shostakovich suddenly turned into one (a memoirist) — why would he relate them to the unknown Volkov? It's incomprehensible to me that Shostakovich could embark on these topics with someone unknown to him — otherwise he would have inquired about him, especially with his family name' (Volkov = wolf).⁶⁹⁶

In citing Glikman, Fay completely ignores the testimonies of Maxim and Irina Shostakovich that the composer was, indeed, interested in writing his memoirs and not only had asked for a notebook to jot down his ideas, but had selected a motto for his reminiscences.⁶⁹⁷ To her credit, Elizabeth Wilson, immediately aware of Fay's selective

⁶⁹⁵ Pleak, p. 52. Regarding the objectivity and balance of the 2004 Shostakovich Festival at Bard College at which Fay, Brown, Mitchinson, and other contributors of *A Shostakovich Casebook* were participants, Richard Pleak asked: 'A pro-Volkov view on the panel is absent, will there be one?' Leon Botstein, the organizer, replied, 'there are through the two weekends — [explaining, after all, that] this is not a Volkov festival'. Pleak reports that, contrary to Botstein's claim, 'there were not' any pro-Volkov views at the Bard Festival.

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 52. Glikman's private comments from November 1979 contrast significantly with his public statement in *Story of a Friendship*, p. xi, which is much tamer and does not even mention Volkov:

In the last years of his life, Shostakovich was often asked to write his reminiscences of departed artistic colleagues, but he did not generally take kindly to these requests. He used to say: 'Why ask me? After all, I'm not a writer. Anyhow, who needs these so-called reminiscences? I certainly hope that when I'm dead, Irina [Antonovna, Shostakovich's third wife] isn't going to go round knocking on people's door asking them to write their "reminiscences" of me!'

⁶⁹⁷ *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 82, 85, and 88–89. In addition, Oksana Dvornichenko begins her *Dmitry Shostakovich, Puteshestviye (Dmitry Shostakovich, The Voyage)*, Tekst, Moscow, 2006, with the following epigraph by Shostakovich:

During the years of my life, I saw many interesting things, met many interesting people, and I regret terribly that I did not keep a diary, reminiscences, because this all, I think, would be very interesting not only for me but for many readers (also cf. the statement in *Sovetskaya kultura*, 26 June 1973, included in Dvornichenko's *DSCH* DVD-ROM under the year '1973').

On p. 8, she goes on to mention that, while sailing to the USA on the *Mikhail Lermontov* (3–11 June 1973), Shostakovich remarked: 'Too bad that I did not write reminiscences. There was so much interesting in my life. But I do not lose hope to return to this'.

reporting of the evidence, added: ‘Irina says he *had* thought about writing his memoirs and had [selected] an epigra[m] from Balzac (presumably ‘All is true’):⁶⁹⁸

In every profession there are true artists who possess invincible pride, aesthetic sensibility, and indestructive stalwartness. Their conscience can never be bought or sold. These writers and artists will be faithful to their art even on the steps of their scaffold.⁶⁹⁹

Irina also told Mitchinson that ‘Dmitrich wanted to write his memoirs himself’, though she continues to deny Volkov’s role in writing them.⁷⁰⁰

Alex Ross, in ‘Unauthorized: The Final Betrayal of Dmitri Shostakovich’, summarizes Fay’s ‘new evidence’ and proclaims her source, Isaak Glikman, an ‘unimpeachable witness’.⁷⁰¹ However, neither he nor Fay discloses the latter’s obvious bias against Volkov, which makes Glikman, in fact, a highly *impeachable* witness. Again, ‘don’t ask, don’t tell; don’t seek, don’t find’. In the interest of full disclosure of the facts and to allow readers to make their own assessment of Glikman’s veracity and motives, we provide below his complete statement ‘About S. Volkov’, followed by our analysis. These reminiscences, documented by Alexander Izbitser (*cf.* note 694) from his personal conversations with Glikman and material provided by the latter’s widow, Luisa Dmitrievna, reveal that Glikman had been highly critical of Volkov from as early as 1968, eleven years before his note of 20 November 1979:

I am not sure whether I should advertise Solomon Volkov. Because about this book on St. Petersburg’s culture [*A Cultural History of St. Petersburg*, 1995 — Eds.] there are very positive reviews by Andrey Bitov and Yakov Gordin. They are delighted that — think about it! — this [. . .] [ellipse in the original — Eds.] Volkov dabbled about

⁶⁹⁸ Pleak, p. 53; emphasis added. When Pleak asked Wilson privately at the 2006 Shostakovich Festival at Rutgers University about her attribution of the motto to Balzac’s ‘All is true’, she responded that that information came second-hand and that she could not recall the source (email from Pleak to the authors, 10 April 2006). The exact passage has not yet been found. Even Dr. Michael J. Tilby, a leading Balzac scholar, was not familiar with the motto and could not locate it in the Balzac concordances.

⁶⁹⁹ Irina Shostakovich, Shostakovich Conference, transl. Sofiya Krapkova, California State University, Long Beach, 18 February 1996. *Cf.* *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, p. 82, and David Bündler’s ‘The Real Shostakovich Comes to Long Beach’, *Twentieth-Century Music*, 3/4, April 1996, p. 16; on the Internet at <<http://www.angelfire.com/music2/davidbundler/shostakovich.html>>.

⁷⁰⁰ Mitchinson, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 315.

⁷⁰¹ *The New Yorker*, 80/25, 6 September 2004, pp. 164–66; on the Internet at <http://www.therestisnoise.com/2004/08/the_popov_disco.html>. Ross appears to have joined the ‘anti-revisionist’ camp. In the Acknowledgments in his book *The Rest is Noise*, Picador, New York, 2007, p. 664, he mentions Laurel Fay among the ‘brilliant group of scholars and experts who read and commented on parts of the manuscript’ and then salutes ‘Richard Taruskin, a major influence on my writing, [who] performed merciless surgery to merciful effect’. Taruskin reciprocated by writing a promotional statement reproduced at the front of the book.

Petersburg's culture! What did he have in common with it? I'll tell you how he appeared in Leningrad. Will you listen?

Solomon Volkov showed up in the Opera Studio of the Leningrad Conservatory as a second-rate orchestra player. He found out about my friendship with Shostakovich without much difficulty and, because of that, sought my company. In a mournful tone he informed me that he is not allowed to advance, told me about the hardship of his parents, who were living, I think, in Riga. Out of politeness, I sympathized with him. In fact, he shed his tears in front of others as well. He shed tears, he annoyed people, how he moaned. At that time the Opera Studio began preparations for a staging of a talented opera *Rothschild's Violin* by Veniamin Fleishman, who perished at the front. (Not long before the end of the war D. D. Shostakovich completed this opera of his favorite student and orchestrated it.)

I took an active part in these preparations. Volkov asked to allow him in, to allow him to participate in these preparations. Unfortunately, his participation — although Volkov himself at that time was a completely insignificant figure — resulted in negative consequences for the fate of this wonderful opera, because he, behind the stage, made noises emphasizing the Jewish theme of the opera, which already raised many questions among opponents of the production.

I remember I had to deliver a spirited speech in defense of the opera at the meeting of the scientific counsel of the Leningrad Conservatory, which had to approve the staging. I was supported by some members of the counsel, but they were in the minority. The staging was not allowed.

Rothschild's Violin was no more lucky in Moscow. D. D. Shostakovich, who was a consultant of the Bolshoi Theater, tried to interest the Bolshoi in the staging. But he was not successful, and very much regretted this.

It came to light later that Volkov transferred to Moscow, befriended a Leningrad composer who was a student of Shostakovich, Boris Tishchenko, who brought him to Dmitry Dmitriyevich's home.

So, once Dmitry Dmitriyevich, during a meeting with me, asked, 'Tell him please, who is this Solomon Volkov?' He asked this question in a humorous tone, hinting at the strange combination of the first name with the last name. This question Dmitry Dmitriyevich asked me three times, each time in the same form: 'Who is this Solomon Volkov?' Dmitry Dmitriyevich could not imagine then what this Volkov would be capable of for the love of money, and allowed him to his home.

In fact, Volkov's name had not been mentioned in any of almost three hundred letters of Shostakovich to me. But Dmitry Dmitriyevich in his letters, full of numerous names, wrote to me sometimes about people whom he barely knew.

Glikman's portrayal of Volkov as a 'second-rate orchestra player', who asked to be allowed to participate, is false. The latter actually was the Artistic Director of the Experimental Studio of Chamber Opera from 1965–70 and, as such, was the principal figure in the staging of *Rothschild's Violin*. Indeed, Volkov's lead role is acknowledged in Yelena Silina's article on the work⁷⁰² and on the printed program for this première (cf. the facsimile below) that, again contrary to Glikman, did take place on 24 April 1968.

Facsimile of the program for the première staging of Veniamin Fleishman's 'Rothschild's Violin', identifying S. Volkov as the Artistic Director of the Experimental Studio of Chamber Opera.

<p>просмотр спектакля Экспериментальной студии камерной оперы ЛОЛГК, который состоится 24 апреля 1968 г. в Большом зале Консерватории</p>	<p>В. Флейшман</p> <p>СКРИПКА РОТШИЛЬДА</p> <p>одноактная опера либретто В. Флейшмана по одноименному рассказу А. П. Чехова</p> <p>Действующие лица и исполнители:</p> <p>Яков Матвеевич Иванов (по прозвищу Бронза), гробовщик и скрипач А. Котенко</p> <p>Ротшильда, флейпист, затем скрипач Ч. Анзаров</p> <p>Моисей Ибвич Шахкес, лудильщик, руководитель местного оркестра В. Смирнов</p> <p>Марфа, жена Иванова . . . Г. Капитонова</p>
<p>Музыкальный руководитель и дирижер Ю. Кочнев</p> <p>Постановщик—В. Фиалковский</p> <p>Режиссер—И. Каган</p> <p>Художник—А. Цесевич</p> <p>Художественный руководитель С. Волков</p>	<p>В. Арзуманов</p> <p>Д О В Е</p> <p>одноактная опера либретто Ф. Нагаева</p> <p>Девушка В. Козырева</p> <p>Юноша В. Смирнов</p>

On the other hand, evidence of Glikman's so-called 'active part' in this event is sorely lacking. Although *Rothschild's Violin* is mentioned three times in *Story of a Friendship*, on pp. xxvii, 23, and 239, not one word is said about Glikman's involvement in its première, either in Shostakovich's letters or in the commentaries accompanying them, and Glikman is not mentioned on the program itself or in published discussions of the opera. Volkov, in a phone conversation on 31 January 2009, explained that it was

⁷⁰² 'Veniamin Fleishman, Uchenik Shostakovicha' ('Veniamin Fleishman, A Student of Shostakovich'), in Kovnatskaya (ed.), *D. D. Shostakovich*, p. 384: '[*Rothschild's Violin's*] premiere took place at the Leningrad Conservatory, at the Experimental Studio of Chamber Opera (artistic director Solomon Volkov, stage director Vitaly Fialkovsky, conductor Yury Kochnev), as part of the student festival "Young Composers of Russia"'. Volkov also is identified as the Artistic Director of the Experimental Studio of Chamber Opera on announcements for two of its other programs in 1969 on file with the authors. Neither mentions Glikman.

Glikman who later ‘tried to attach himself to the project’ as a liaison between Volkov’s group and Shostakovich. However, such a go-between was unnecessary and, although Shostakovich himself could not attend this première, his son ‘came in his stead as a guest of honor’.⁷⁰³

Glikman’s claim that Shostakovich didn’t know who Volkov was and asked three times ‘Who is this Solomon Volkov?’ is refuted by the photographs and inscriptions in *Testimony* itself, the earliest of which dates from 1965, as well as the preface Shostakovich contributed to Volkov’s first book, *Young Composers of Leningrad* (1971; facsimile on p. 25 above). Clearly Shostakovich knew very well who Volkov was long before Glikman’s note of 20 November 1979.

Shostakovich’s failure to mention Volkov in his more than 300 letters to Glikman also is not surprising given the latter’s harsh opinion of Volkov and the fact that most of this correspondence dates from before work on the memoirs began in 1971.⁷⁰⁴ If Glikman resented Volkov’s involvement in the *Rothschild’s Violin* première — staged by the Experimental Studio of Chamber Opera, which was not officially a part of the Leningrad Conservatory’s opera program to which Glikman was attached — would he have welcomed the news that that same ‘insignificant, second-rate orchestra player’ had been selected over him to work on Shostakovich’s memoirs? We think not. Instead Shostakovich kept silent about Volkov and, so as not to offend his longtime friend, simply dismissed the entire notion of memoirs when Glikman offered his own assistance: ‘I know how to write music, not memoirs’, period. Glikman’s lack of objectivity and personal bias against Volkov is abundantly clear in the audio recording of his conversations with Izbitser upon which the above-quoted text is based. There Glikman says to Izbitser, ‘and in the letters to me he [Shostakovich] never mentions the name Volkov. He never mentions Khentova either, but don’t mention Khentova, just say he never mentions Volkov’.⁷⁰⁵

In conclusion, by focusing almost exclusively on eight of the 400-plus pages of the typescript, the critics of *Testimony* continue to demonstrate the very same musicological myopia bemoaned in the memoirs itself.⁷⁰⁶ Does a proper scholar examine less than 2% of a text while assessing its authenticity and accuracy? Imagine a score being discovered in a copyist’s hand. Does the scholar rule out the music being by a particular composer simply because it is not in his hand, or does he seek and consider all of the evidence? Taruskin, for example, has attempted to separate the issue of accuracy from authenticity. Of course, they are not the same thing, but the accuracy of so many minute, unknown, and controversial details in *Testimony* can, we believe, shed valuable light on the memoirs’ authenticity.

⁷⁰³ Solomon Volkov ‘Dmitri Shostakovich’s “Jewish Motive”: A Creative Enigma’, in Kuhn, p. 7. Also cf. Volkov’s ‘Letter to the Editor’, *Tempo*, 207, December 1998, p. 55 that corrects the oft-repeated misconception that Maxim conducted this première,

⁷⁰⁴ Only twenty letters from July 1971 forward are included in *Story of a Friendship*, pp. 181–97. This constitutes only 6% of the total.

⁷⁰⁵ Transcribed and translated from the audio recording provided by Izbitser to Alan Mercer, the editor of *DSCH Journal*.

⁷⁰⁶ *Testimony*, p. 199.

We should ponder how the young, inexperienced Volkov, after only three meetings with Shostakovich, could have known about so many aspects of the composer's life and works, been correct in so many details disputed by Shostakovich scholars and experts in a variety of other fields, and even duplicated the composer's speech so well as to fool the composer's children and close friends.⁷⁰⁷ Indeed, if Volkov fabricated the Shostakovich memoirs, he would have to be not only America's but the world's most brilliant musicologist.

3. Academic Integrity & Intellectual Honesty

Our own interest in the 'Shostakovich Wars' has always concerned academic integrity and intellectual honesty. Despite the evidence corroborating *Testimony* that has poured out of Russia since the collapse of the Soviet regime in 1991, the Shostakovich and Russian music experts who made their careers attacking the memoirs and Volkov have remained silent. One would think it their scholarly obligation to look for and to report all of the evidence, even that at odds with their own hypotheses and positions. But they have not. Unfortunately, integrity and honesty are no longer prized as they once were, nor even welcomed in some circles. While one may disagree with our conclusion that *Testimony* is accurate and authentic, scholars, at the least, should stand up for thorough investigation of an issue, followed by full disclosure of the facts, in proper context and in timely fashion.

We neither claim nor aspire to be 'Shostakovich experts'. On the contrary, we merely pose questions that the latter refuse to ask, for whatever reason: complacency, cover-up, or incompetence. Without our efforts, how much information, how many connections would have been left undocumented, and how much inaccurate information and rumor would have been accepted as truth? Would readers have learned that

- Shostakovich told Flora Litvinova between 1972 and 1974 about meeting constantly with a young Leningrad musicologist to tell him everything he remembers about himself and his works, and that she believes, in retrospect, that he was referring to Volkov and to *Testimony*, as does Elizabeth Wilson;

⁷⁰⁷ Savenko notes in 'Shostakovich's Literary Style', *Shostakovich in Context*, pp. 44–45 (emphasis added) that

Dmitry Shostakovich certainly possessed a highly individual literary style. This style had certain innate and, as it were, genetic qualities which appeared when he was young and remained virtually unchanged for the rest of his life. These were above all his simplicity of vocabulary (more 'elemental' than plebian) and simplicity of syntax, a partial result of which was a direct and unambiguous discourse.

[. . .] his particular 'plain style' is individual enough to be *extremely hard to imitate or counterfeit*. The convoluted and prolix style of the articles attributed to Shostakovich from the 1950s to the 1970s show a marked contrast with this precise syntax.

Unfortunately, Savenko does not comment on the literary style in *Testimony*, probably because she did not have access to the Russian text.

- Others knew about Volkov's meetings with Shostakovich to work on his memoirs *as these were in progress*, including Galina Drubachevskaya and Yury Korev at *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, Rostislav Dubinsky, Karen Khachaturian, Vladimir Krainev, Anatoly Kuznetsov, Mark Lubotsky, and Maxim Shostakovich;
- Shostakovich looked over portions of these memoirs *before* they were typed in spring 1974 and submitted for his final approval, and thus could provide input and make some corrections;
- Maxim and Irina Shostakovich have confirmed that Shostakovich was thinking of writing his memoirs late in life, and that the motto he chose from Balzac is consistent with the honesty and truthfulness of *Testimony*: the 'conscience [of true artists] can never be bought or sold. These writers and artists will be faithful to their art even on the steps of their scaffold';
- Maxim and Galina Shostakovich, after the fall of the Soviet regime in 1991, have not only praised both Volkov and *Testimony*, but contributed the Introduction to the second Russian edition of his book *Shostakovich and Stalin* (2006);
- Maxim attended, as a guest of honor, the launching of the Czech edition of *Testimony* in December 2005;
- Russians who have read the Russian text, including Maxim and Galina Shostakovich, Rudolf Barshai, Dubinsky, Lubotsky, Il'ya Musin, Rodion Shchedrin, and Yury Temirkanov, recognize Shostakovich's characteristic voice in it;
- Only two of the signatories of 'Pitiful Forgery' have been shown to have had any familiarity with the text of *Testimony* (via a sight-read reverse translation by a representative of Khrennikov, according to Elena Basner) and none had read it for themselves before they denounced it;
- Irina's recent statements about Volkov and *Testimony* are refuted by a wealth of other evidence;
- Fay's claim that the Moscow typescript is an accurate reproduction of the original typescript and a copy of what Volkov showed around while trying to obtain a publisher is seriously undermined by other evidence. In fact, this typescript has many significant alterations that Fay fails to account for, does not correlate with the English translation 'word-for-word' as she states, appears to stem from the altered text of unknown provenance circulated by Seppo

Heikinheimo, and is inconsistent with the statements and recollections of four independent witnesses (Ann Harris, Seppo Heikinheimo, Henry Orlov, and Heddy Pross-Weerth) who worked with the Russian text in 1979;

- Brown's side-by-side comparison of passages in *Testimony* and earlier articles is not always accurate in punctuation or even words, but tries to make the latter conform as closely as possible to Bouis's English translation while ignoring differences such as paragraph breaks;
- Many of *Testimony's* most controversial passages now have been corroborated, multiple times, by other sources;
- Details in *Testimony* questioned by Shostakovich scholars such as Orlov and Fay, literature experts such as Aleksey Panteleyev, and a film historian turn out repeatedly to be true;
- Suggestions that Lev Lebedinsky or Leo Arnshtam helped Volkov fabricate *Testimony* are based on the flimsiest conjectures, such as Nikolskaya's perception of a 'hint' by Lebedinsky;
- Shostakovich himself distinguished between his own intended meanings of works such as the Seventh Symphony and Eighth Quartet and the meanings assigned by others;
- Leading Russian scholars stress the need to view Shostakovich's music in its proper historical context to decipher its hidden meanings and to fully understand and appreciate it, rather than listening to it as 'pure' music and abstract sounds; and finally,
- Scholars such as Fay, Taruskin, and Brown, who claim to be seeking the truth about *Testimony* and Shostakovich, repeatedly don't ask and don't tell, don't seek and, thus, don't find.

Unfortunately, the 'Shostakovich Wars' will probably never be resolved to everyone's satisfaction for several reasons: (1) the original Russian typescript was not made available for study early on; (2) scholars such as Fay, who were thought to be doing a thorough, objective investigation of the memoirs were, in fact, mainly interested in supporting their own position; and (3) key people who knew about the genesis of *Testimony* are now dead.

If we cannot examine the original typescript or speak to the dead, the least scholars can do is report what *is* known, which is what we have endeavored to do in *Shostakovich Reconsidered* and the present text. We leave it to others to judge whether something that looks like a duck, walks like a duck, and quacks like a duck is, in fact, a duck.

We end with two passages from *A Shostakovich Casebook* that merit repeating. First, Levon Hakobian acknowledges that

the authenticity of *Testimony* has for a long time needed no further proof: virtually everything in the book has been confirmed one way or another by information from independent sources.⁷⁰⁸

This conclusion — along with Henry Orlov’s illuminating words from 1976 that anticipate the view of Shostakovich in *Testimony*, *The New Shostakovich*, *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, and the present book — must come as a shock to anti-revisionists such as Fay, Taruskin, and Brown:

Despite forced confessions and compromises, under a host of watchful eyes, Shostakovich managed to remain honest in his music. His music was a testament in which, through the patchwork of covers, musical metaphors, and cleverly suggested allusions, the author’s personality and convictions were clearly perceived. His music was also a sermon because he, like Dostoevsky, Musorgsky, Chekov, and Mahler, could not help but feel the pain of human suffering, could not help but try to open his compatriots’ eyes on themselves and their true situation, to make them think for themselves and shake off their complacency, to try to raise their sense of dignity and civic duty. In a country where the machine of totalitarianism had turned human society into a trembling herd, honesty was a rare commodity, more precious than daily bread.

Even to the least sophisticated listeners, the general tone of Shostakovich’s music — serious, harsh, and dramatic — sounded as a refutation of the myth, ‘life has become better and more joyful’, which the tyrant had invented and common folks believed in. In a country cut off from the community of world cultures and traditions, and beguiled into viewing the past as filled with outmoded prejudices and the present as drowning in the miasma of degeneration and spiritual decay, Shostakovich’s music recalled the spiritual riches and vitality of true art, of the great old masters, and also conveyed the nervous pulse of contemporary life, which Shostakovich had already captured in his early works and which still endured, notwithstanding strict sanitary controls over the cultural fodder approved for consumption in Soviet society.

In a country where ‘the great and only true doctrine’ monopolized truth and logic itself, Shostakovich stirred minds, offered his own worldview, prompted questions and the search for answers. In the twentieth-century version of tribal society bedazzled by the light of the only ‘great personality, the leader, teacher, friend’, Shostakovich dared to be a personality in his own right and to emit a light of his own. The cult of the father figure was an obligatory official ritual, the product of

⁷⁰⁸ Hakobian, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 232.

brainwashing, a form of mass hysteria. The light emitted by Shostakovich's music shone as a beacon to those trying to survive on the dark ocean of lies and stupidity. He did not aspire to play such a dangerous role, but he could not help doing so simply by being himself.

Those born and brought up in a free society can hardly comprehend what it takes to remain honest in a police state or imagine themselves in the place of someone whose very thought of liberty puts freedom or life at stake. Shostakovich was obliged to be especially cautious. [. . .]

Let us try to understand what it takes to be honest under the Damocles sword of fear, when even a look, a gesture, or a casual remark could be fatal.⁷⁰⁹

⁷⁰⁹ Orlov, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 196–98. On a positive note, some Western academics outside of the 'Shostakovich Wars' proper now hold a similar view. Dr. Robert Greenberg of the San Francisco Conservatory of Music concludes that Shostakovich was

a small, frail, shy, and often terribly frightened man [. . .] but his music testifies to the power of his resolve as an artist and as a witness determined to record and to promote, even if indirectly, the struggle on behalf of conscience and human dignity under conditions of totalitarian violence and oppression that we today can barely begin to imagine. How lucky we are to have had him among us. If Shostakovich were here with us now, the first thing he'd tell us was that he was no hero; in the Soviet Union 'heroes' died young. Shostakovich was a survivor and a witness, his music a testament to what he saw, and felt, in a world that we can hardly imagine' ('Shostakovich: His Life and Music', The Teaching Company Course 760, Chantilly, Virginia, 2002).

Appendices

1. A *Testimony* Timeline

- 1971–74 Solomon Volkov and Shostakovich have dozens of conversations during this period. The first meeting is in Repino, July 1971; some of the others mentioned by Volkov in *St. Petersburg: A Cultural History* take place in 1972, 1973, and 1974, in Moscow. Attempts to have the memoirs published in the USSR are unsuccessful because of its controversial material: it is turned down both by *Sovetskaya Muzyka* and the Novosti Press Agency. Shostakovich then asks Volkov to have it published in the West, but only after his death. As work progresses, Shostakovich looks over ‘some larger sections and chapters’.
- 1972–74 Shostakovich tells Flora Litvinova that he is meeting constantly with a young Leningrad musicologist to tell him everything he remembers about his works and himself.
- 1974 Volkov organizes the material into longer chapters and has the text typed in spring. As soon as each chapter is ready, he gives it to Shostakovich, who examines it and as proof of his approval, writes at the head of each chapter ‘Chital. D. Shostakovich’. These chapters are then returned to Volkov via Irina Shostakovich. The only typescript is hidden in the apartment of a Russian couple, according to Swedish musicologist Christer Bouij.⁷¹⁰ Volkov later arranges for it to be smuggled out of the USSR, piecemeal, by various couriers.
- 13 November 1974 Shostakovich signs the frontispiece photo and asks Volkov about the typescript. Volkov tells him that it is already ‘in the West’.
- February 1975 Volkov applies for an exit visa for himself and his wife. His principal motivation for emigrating is to arrange for publication of Shostakovich’s memoirs in the West, but only after the composer’s death, as agreed upon earlier.
- 9 August 1975 Shostakovich dies.
- 17 January 1976 Henry Orlov first learns about a book of Shostakovich’s memoirs, ‘in general terms, without any details’, during his final weeks in the Soviet Union. At Anatoly Naiman’s place, Orlov meets Volkov, who arrives after attending a meeting at the Union of

⁷¹⁰ Cf. note 237 above.

Composers. At the latter, Khrennikov, in the presence of Irina Antonovna Shostakovich, demands that Volkov ‘put the manuscript on the table’ and threatens that otherwise Volkov would never leave the Soviet Union. Volkov replies that he is unable to put the manuscript on the table because it has already been sent abroad.⁷¹¹ This is consistent with what Volkov told Shostakovich on 13 November 1974 (above).

- March 1976 Irina Shostakovich informs Volkov of his permission to emigrate to the West. Because he and his wife do not want to be caught carrying his notes, with the KGB looking for anything dealing with *Testimony*, these are left with his mother-in-law. Even Volkov does not know what happened to his notes after his mother-in-law died, whether they were destroyed, thrown out by accident, became a part of the KGB archives, or something else. According to Volkov, his mother-in-law was ‘invited’ to speak with the KGB. After emigrating, Volkov and his wife meet Orlov in Rome.⁷¹²
- June 1976 Volkov arrives in New York and begins seeking a publisher for the memoirs.
- 17 July 1976 Richard Taruskin writes a letter supporting Volkov’s application for a research fellowship at the Russian Institute, Columbia University, describing him as ‘unquestionably the most impressive and accomplished among the Soviet emigré musicians and musicologists whom I have had occasion to meet in the last few years’. Already at this early date, he mentions that Volkov will be preparing the composer’s *memoirs* for publication.⁷¹³
- 23 September 1976 Volkov writes a letter to Orlov in which he expresses concern that not all the material will arrive on time, and that he ‘might be obliged to tinker around’ with the book for maybe another two years. He also mentions that ‘a certain publisher is interested in “the idea of Shostakovich’s memoirs”’, and that they have asked him for the name of someone in the West who already knew about

⁷¹¹ Kovnatskaya, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 118–19. Orlov moved to the USA in 1976, where he held positions at Cornell University (1976–77), Harvard University (1977–78), and Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut (1979–81).

⁷¹² *Ibid.*, p. 119.

⁷¹³ For the complete letter and a facsimile of it, *cf.* p. 182 above and *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 37–38, respectively. Although *The New Shostakovich*, p. 4, states that Volkov was ‘known to have been preparing a conventional biography of Shostakovich’, Clarke, who revised and corrected the text of the new edition, confirmed in an email of 1 November 2006 that this passage is ‘a mistake which I should have spotted. There is no evidence that SV ever planned a conventional biography’.

- these memoirs while still in Russia. Volkov mentions Orlov as ‘the most prominent Shostakovich specialist’.⁷¹⁴
- 10 October 1976 Orlov, in a letter, expresses his support for Volkov as well as his ‘willingness to write an introduction for the book’.⁷¹⁵
- 25 October 1976 Volkov, in a letter, responds that ‘he never dreamed of the possibility of getting an introduction from Orlov’.⁷¹⁶
- 1978 Orlov meets Volkov in Boston, where the latter gives two lectures at Harvard University. According to the former, ‘Volkov was even then very much in a state of consternation, because all parts of the manuscript had still not arrived. As he described it, they were arriving through various channels. He held onto these pieces of the manuscript with a passion, not letting any of them out of his hands, saying he was surrounded by “capitalist sharks”’. However, ‘Volkov never said a thing about its contents or showed me a single line of text from the manuscript’.⁷¹⁷
- by 1978 Harper and Row begins negotiating for and authenticating the manuscript. In preparing the English translation, Ann Harris, *Testimony’s* in-house editor, and perhaps others, delete and rearrange portions of the text. These changes were not made to hide the presence of recycled texts, which would only be discovered later (after publication, in 1980), but to improve the text’s effectiveness and readability. Moreover, most of Harper and Row’s changes were not followed in the German and Finnish editions.
- 22 November 1978 N. Kartsov and G. Krestova, two officials of VAAP, question Irina Shostakovich, who explains that she did not inform VAAP earlier about the memoirs because ‘everybody concerned knew about the conversations, including the journal *Sovetskaia muzyka*. [. . .] For the moment I do not see any reason for concern. After all, the book may well contain only Dmitri Dmitrievich’s autobiographical commentary, in which case there is no reason to object’.⁷¹⁸

⁷¹⁴ Kovnatskaya, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 118. Volkov’s ‘tinkering’ involved writing and revising the notes that accompany the main text. The earliest version, which tends to be shorter and more basic but sometimes includes additional information, appears in the German edition whereas revised versions are found in the English and Finnish.

⁷¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁷¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

⁷¹⁸ Bogdanova, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 93.

- 29 November 1978 P. Gavrilov, head of the Legal Services Department of VAAP, advises Harper and Row that Irina Shostakovich has authorized VAAP to represent her legal rights by requesting the text of the manuscript, since ‘the publisher had not approached her in conjunction with the publication of the manuscript, and its nature was unknown to her’.⁷¹⁹
- 6 December 1978 Edward A. Miller, vice president and general counsel of Harper and Row, responds (this is mentioned in his teletype of 2 February 1979), but VAAP claims not to have received this.⁷²⁰
- 13 December 1978 Irina, Maxim, and Galina Shostakovich appeal to the vice president of Harper and Row, Robert E. Bench: ‘Once again we confirm the need to receive promptly from you information about the book We would hope that, having undertaken this publication, you are conscious of your responsibility in matters related to the protection of Dmitri Shostakovich’s name and copyright’.⁷²¹
- 14 December 1978 The Minutes of the Cultural Department of the Party’s Central Committee, titled ‘Concerning Measures for Propagandizing and Preserving D. D. Shostakovich’s Creative Legacy’, lists measures to brand *Testimony* as an ‘anti-Soviet forgery that discredits the name of a great composer . . .’⁷²² and to distribute materials that would display the ‘Soviet’ Shostakovich. Soon thereafter, Grigor’yev and Platek’s *Shostakovich: About Himself and His Times* is published.
- 2 February 1979 Miller of Harper and Row declares in a teletype message: ‘Shostakovich’s heirs have no rights at all to this work, and their permission is not required to publish it’.⁷²³
- 21 February 1979 VAAP notifies the publisher that, based on the company’s response, it is unclear whether Harper and Row is preparing to publish some sort of ‘memoirs’ by Shostakovich himself or a book about him by another author. ‘If you intend to identify Dmitry Shostakovich as the author of the forthcoming book, then the claims of his heirs remain in force’.⁷²⁴

⁷¹⁹ Brown, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 90 and 93.

⁷²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁷²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁷²² Bogdanova, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 94.

⁷²³ Brown, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 91.

⁷²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

- April 1979 Harper and Row announces that it will publish the memoirs of Shostakovich at the end of the year.
- Spring 1979 The Russian text is made available by Harper and Row for preparation of the German edition. Heddy Pross-Weerth completes her translation in summer 1979.⁷²⁵ Per Skans first learns details about the Shostakovich memoirs from Seppo Heikinheimo.
- 1 June 1979 Shostakovich's family protests once more against the publication of any works by the composer without their prior written consent, stating that 'We are not aware that D. Shostakovich gave his consent to anyone to publish his materials posthumously'.⁷²⁶
- 5 June 1979 Yury Rudakov, Assistant Chairman of the VAAP directorate, writes to Miller of Harper and Row: 'The copyright of an author's words — which are, as is well known, among the property subject to copyright — pass after the author's death to his heirs. . . . Without the consent of the heirs of D. Shostakovich, the publisher has no right to publish the work in question'.⁷²⁷
- 9 August 1979 Harris, of Harper and Row, writes a letter to Orlov asking him to evaluate the Russian typescript. Orlov does not find the terms acceptable.
- 26 August 1979 Harris makes a second offer to Orlov, with a slight modification in terms, which he accepts.
- 27 August 1979 Orlov examines the Russian typescript for four hours in Boston.⁷²⁸
- 28 August 1979 Orlov writes his reader's report and submits it to Harper and Row, noting that besides Shostakovich's inscriptions at the beginning of each chapter, there are no other alterations.⁷²⁹ This is consistent with what Volkov has always said about the original typescript. The German and Finnish translators also did not mention or recall any alterations in the copies of the Russian text they received from Harper and Row.

⁷²⁵ Letter from Pross-Weerth, 22 February 2000.

⁷²⁶ Brown, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 91.

⁷²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁷²⁸ Kohnatskaya, *A Shostakovich Casebook*, p. 104.

⁷²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 111–16.

- Late August 1979 Gennady Rozhdestvensky reads proofs of the English translation while he is in London.⁷³⁰
- September 1979 Heikinheimo loans an altered copy of the Russian text to Skans, who arranges for a photocopy of this material to be deposited into the Swedish Radio Library. The source of this typescript is unknown. Heikinheimo mentions that he will be translating the Russian text of this ‘sensational book’ into Finnish⁷³¹ and he also begins to show this altered typescript to some fifty others and makes (or allows others to make) additional copies, including, apparently, the Moscow typescript now in the Shostakovich Family Archive.
- Mid-Sept. 1979 Skans reads the Russian text and comments on *Testimony* in a Swedish Radio broadcast.⁷³²
- 12 October 1979 Werner Söderström OY [WSOY] boasts that it has acquired a ‘preliminary reservation’ to publish the Finnish translation of *Testimony*, which is scheduled for the following year in its prestigious biography series ‘Profiili’.⁷³³
- 13 October 1979 Otava disputes the statement by WSOY and claims that it has acquired the ‘decisive engagement’ to publish the Finnish translation. A proper agreement will be signed after the Frankfurt Book Fair.⁷³⁴
- 14 October 1979 Skans translates and reads part of Heikinheimo’s Russian typescript during a Swedish Radio broadcast.

⁷³⁰ Heikinheimo, *Mätämunan muistelmat*, p. 391.

⁷³¹ Inexplicably, Heikinheimo, in both his own memoirs and the Finnish edition of *Testimony*, provides a different chronology of his work with the Russian text. Cf. notes 734, 739, and 775 below.

⁷³² Cf. note 254.

⁷³³ ‘Shostakovitshin muistelmat suomeksi’ (‘Shostakovich’s Memoirs into Finnish’), *Ilta-Sanomat*, 12 October 1979, p. 21.

⁷³⁴ ‘Shostakovitshin teos kiistakapulana’ (‘Shostakovich’s Book as an Apple of Discord’), *Helsingin Sanomat*, 13 October 1979, p. 22. According to Heikinheimo in *Mätämunan muistelmat*, p. 391, Ms. Eila Mellin of Otava snatched the translation rights from under the nose of some WSOY employees at the Frankfurt Book Fair, which is held in early October each year. WSOY had already announced that they would publish the Finnish edition of *Testimony* in 1980, but Ms. Mellin was quicker at the Fair and secured the rights for Otava. Ms. Mellin, in a phone conversation with Dr. Markus Lång, 28 February 2006, confirmed the details of this race between rival publishers.

It appears that Heikinheimo himself had pitched the idea of a Finnish edition of *Testimony* to Otava and possibly WSOY, despite his claim that Huovinen of Otava invited him to translate it. In a letter to Lång (4 April 2006), Huovinen confirmed that it was Heikinheimo who first learned of *Testimony* and initiated interest at Otava in a Finnish edition, and not the other way around. Heikinheimo was a prominent figure in Finnish musical circles and had had projects printed by both publishers prior to his work on the Shostakovich memoirs.

- 29 October 1979 Otava and Harper and Row sign an agreement for preparation of the Finnish edition.⁷³⁵
- Late Sept.–Oct. 1979 Extended excerpts from the German translation, *Zeugenaussage*, appear in *Der Spiegel* Nos. 38–40 to generate interest in the forthcoming book.⁷³⁶
- 31 October 1979 The English (Harper and Row) and German (Albrecht Knaus) editions are released. In preparing the latter, Pross-Weerth worked independently from Harper and Row. She never saw the English translation by Antonina W. Bouis until 2000 when she requested that Ho send her a copy for comparison. Her edition apparently represents the earliest stage of the published book, without the changes later made in the English and Finnish translations. Moreover, the notes in the German edition differ from those in the English, tending to be shorter and more basic, while also including material that is absent in the other translations.

⁷³⁵ Email from Kaija Luoto of Otava to Markus Lång, 14 March 2006, based on evidence in the publisher's archives.

⁷³⁶ These included the following notable topics:

No. 38, pp. 226–249 [from *Testimony*, Chapter 4]

226–30 Shostakovich's account of reading *Pravda* in Arkhangelsk;

227 *Pravda* article translated *in extenso*;

230–33 Tukhachevsky;

233–36 Fourth Symphony;

236–41 Zhilyayev, Gachev, Stalin and music, including his wish for a work like Beethoven's Ninth;

244ff Russian composers being bad public relations agents for themselves; Eisenstein and Wagner;

No. 39, pp. 230–248 [from *Testimony*, Chapters 4 and 6]

230 How everyone believed in Stalin;

231–36 Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Symphonies; Wendell Willkie; and Khrennikov wanting to crush Shostakovich;

236–44 Muradeli, *The Great Friendship*; the 1948 affair, including the Central Committee's Decree, Zhdanov, Stalin's phone call about travel to the USA for the World Peace Conference, and the journey;

244 His 'worst works', quotation from Chekhov: 'I write anything except denunciations';

246 Stalin and religion, Glinka's *Ivan Susanin*;

248 Yudina's hasty recording of Mozart's Concerto No. 23;

No. 40, pp. 221–41 [from *Testimony*, Chapter 6 and 8]

221ff Ghostwriter stories, Dzhabul Dzhabayev, the murder of Ukrainian singers, Stalin and films;

233ff Story of Khrennikov soiling his pants before Stalin, Shostakovich's own encounter with Stalin, and the national anthem competition.

- 14 November 1979 *Testimony* and Volkov are harshly criticized in the Soviet press (*Literaturnaya Gazeta*, 46, p. 8).
- 27 November 1979 Heikinheimo receives the Russian text from Harper and Row for translation into Finnish.
- c. 4 December 1979 Heikinheimo lends a copy of the Russian text to Mstislav Rostropovich.
- 15 December 1979 Elmer Schönberger reproduces in *Vrij Nederland* the first page of Chapter 2 of *Testimony* from the Russian text in the possession of Mark Lubotsky. Since Lubotsky was associated with Heikinheimo, this copy likely stems from Heikinheimo's altered typescript.
- Dec. 1979–Feb. 1980 Heikinheimo delivers his Finnish translation to Pentti Huovinen of Otava on 27 December, then leaves for San Francisco. Extended excerpts of this appear in *Helsingin Sanomat* to generate interest in the forthcoming book, *Dmitri Šostakovitšin muistelmat*.⁷³⁷
- January 1980 Heikinheimo visits Volkov in New York for help to complete and polish his translation of the Russian text of *Testimony* into Finnish. Heikinheimo appears to have completed his edition by February 1980, the date of his translator's preface.
- Late March 1980 Otava publishes the Finnish edition. Because it appears five months after the English and German editions, Heikinheimo has the opportunity to examine those, incorporate some of the changes made to the main text of the Harper and Row, and modify the notes. In some of the latter, the Finnish edition follows the German (apparently the earliest version), in others the English or a conflation of the two.

⁷³⁷ Heikinheimo, *Mätämunan muistelmat*, pp. 392–93. Cf. 'Shostakovitshin muistelmat', *Helsingin Sanomat*, 30 December 1979, pp. 11–12 (from pp. 125–36, the end of Chapter 3 of the book; this also includes 'Näin Volkov keräsi tiedot' ('This is How Volkov Collected the Information'), from pp. 5–12, Volkov's introduction in the book); 'Dmitri Shostakovitsh: *Pravda* muutti musiikin sekasotkuksi' ('Dmitry Shostakovich: *Pravda* Changed Music into Muddle'), *Helsingin Sanomat*, 6 January 1980, pp. 17–18 (from pp. 137–47, the beginning of Chapter 4 of the book); and 'Dmitri Shostakovitsh: 'Leningrad-sinfonia soi Stalinin tuhoamalle kaupungille' ('Leningrad Symphony Honors the City that Stalin Destroyed'), *Helsingin Sanomat*, 12 January 1980, pp. 29–30 (from pp. 186–97, the beginning of Chapter 5 of the book). In his review of the Finnish National Opera Orchestra's performance of Shostakovich's Ninth Symphony ('Sinfonia johon Stalin raivostui' ('The Symphony that Infuriated Stalin'), *Helsingin Sanomat*, 20 February 1980), p. 18, Heikinheimo also included six paragraphs from the book, pp. 171–73, concerning the première and fate of this work.

- October 1980 Laurel Fay's article 'Shostakovich versus Volkov: Whose *Testimony*?' is published in the *Russian Review*, questioning the authenticity of the memoirs.
- 1992–98 Ho and Feofanov investigate the *Testimony* controversy.
- 1997–98 *Testimony*'s original Russian typescript is sold to a private collector, whose identify remains unknown.
- June 1998 Ho and Feofanov's *Shostakovich Reconsidered* is published.
- 6 January 1999 Skans informs Ho of a copy of the Heikinheimo typescript in the Swedish Radio Archive. At the time *Shostakovich Reconsidered* was published we were unaware of the extent of the alterations in this copy. Therefore, Fay's claim that we misled readers about the location of the first signature is false. As far as we have been able to ascertain, the first signature is on page 003 of Heikinheimo's altered typescript and its derivatives, but was described as being at the 'beginning of the chapter' by Heikinheimo himself, Pross-Weerth, Orlov, and Harris, all of whom worked with a different, unaltered typescript in 1979.
- 15 February 1999 Volkov appears at a well-publicized open forum at the Mannes College of Music with Ho, Feofanov, and Ashkenazy, to answer questions about *Testimony*. None of the principal detractors of the memoirs, such as Fay, Taruskin, or Brown, attend.
- 25 April 1999 Ho and Feofanov first examine the Heikinheimo typescript.
- September 2000 Fay examines a photocopy of a Russian typescript of *Testimony* in the Shostakovich Family Archive in Moscow, with alterations apparently duplicating those in the Heikinheimo typescript.
- March 2004 Brown's *A Shostakovich Casebook* is published. In her article on the Moscow typescript, Fay, four years later, still does not provide any details on its provenance, how it came to be in the Moscow archive, or who made the alterations, none of which were mentioned or recalled by witnesses who examined or worked with the Russian typescript circulated by Harper and Row in 1979.
- December 2005 Maxim Shostakovich attends, as a guest of honor, the launching of the Czech edition of *Testimony*.
- 2005–11 *The 'Shostakovich Wars'* is researched and prepared for publication.

2. A Collation of Texts⁷³⁸

The purpose of this collation is not to document every variant in punctuation or sentence construction, but more substantial differences, such as passages that have been relocated, modified, or deleted in one edition or another. Most curious is the fact that the German translation from the Russian original not only is missing several passages in the other texts, but also *includes some that are not found in any of the other editions examined* (indicated in bold in the left column below). Normally, a translator does not add his or her own words to a text and Heddy Pross-Weerth said she had no recollection of having done so. The four texts compared are identified with letters, followed by page numbers. Other translations are not collated because they were made from the English and/or German editions:

- R: a copy of the altered Russian typescript circulated by Seppo Heikinheimo that duplicates that in the Swedish Radio Library as well as, apparently, the Moscow typescript in the Shostakovich Family Archive.
- E: the English translation from the Russian text by Antonina W. Bouis, first published in New York by Harper and Row as *Testimony* in October 1979. Note: the Hamilton Hamish edition, published in England, also credits Bouis with the translation, but includes a number of errors and unauthorized changes (*cf.* p. 66n).
- G: the German translation from the Russian text by Heddy Pross-Weerth, first published in Hamburg by Albrecht Knaus as *Zeugenassage* in October 1979.
- F: the Finnish translation by Seppo Heikinheimo, based on the English and German translations above as well as the Russian text, and first published in Helsinki by Otava as *Dmitri Šostakovitš'in muistelmat* in March 1980.⁷³⁹

⁷³⁸ We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Heddy Pross-Weerth in the preparation of this section. She initiated comparison of the English and her own German translation in 2000, but, unfortunately, passed away on 21 June 2004 before those editions were collated with the Russian and Finnish texts.

⁷³⁹ In *Mätämunan muistelmat*, pp. 392–93, Heikinheimo states that he read first a sentence in the English and German translations and then tried to guess the meaning of the Russian original with the aid of them and a dictionary, because he didn't know Russian very well at that time. In comparing the texts, he found that the American translator, Antonina Bouis, had left out sentences and sometimes paragraphs, but he does not ponder whether he and she actually used an identical Russian manuscript. He also notes that Bouis, the German translator Heddy Pross-Weerth, and later the French translator had changed Shostakovich's style into a wrong one, by replacing Shostakovich's short staccato sentences with long sentences in normal rhythm. Heikinheimo implies that he retained the original punctuation. The relevant passage from Heikinheimo's memoirs, here translated by Lång, is contradicted in several details by evidence provided by Per Skans (*cf.* pp. 253–58 below), who borrowed, photocopied, commented on, and read from, on Swedish radio broadcasts, Heikinheimo's copy of the Russian text several months *before* the latter claims to have even received it:

In that period [by 1979], I had done quite a lot of work for the nonfiction department of [the publishing house] Otava [. . .] and so had made friends with the nonfiction department head Pentti Huovinen. Because of that, Huovinen now inquired of me: 'Would you like to translate the memoirs of Shostakovich?'

Chapter 1

- E10 reverses the order of two paragraphs. The original order, indicated in parentheses below, is found in F42–43, G43, and R010–11:
- (2) ‘He gave his harem good publicity, by the way. [. . .]’
(1) ‘My month of labor at the Bright Reel didn’t fly by, it dragged. [. . .]’
- E16, F49, R019 include a passage (underlined) that is missing in G49:
- ‘I’ve worked at remembering a few times. Not for amusement, but following Zoshchenko’s method’.
- E18, F50: have one paragraph appearing 14 paragraphs earlier:
- ‘Kustodiev liked to listen to me play. [. . .]’ In G52 and R024 this appears between the following (E20): ‘He felt responsible for the lives of hundreds of musicians, so he didn’t die himself. // Once Glazunov listened to a friend and myself sight-read Brahms’s Second Symphony’.
- E30, F61–62, R037–38 have three paragraphs that are missing entirely in G61:
- (1) ‘A man dies and they want to serve him up to posterity. [. . .]’

‘Yes’, I replied without an instant of hesitation.

My knowledge of the Russian language was not yet nearly sufficient to translate the book directly from Russian, but as I had the English translation as an aid, I guessed I could manage it; before I started the job, I got hold of the German translation as well. Now the work became relatively easy. I sat at an easy-chair, a Revox tape recorder at my feet, the microphone at my chest, and the remote stopper in my hand. On a music stand in front of my nose there was the Russian manuscript, to the left the English translation and to the right the German one. When I read one sentence at a time in both translations, I quickly realized the meaning of the sentence; after that, I examined the corresponding Russian sentence with the aid of a dictionary and translated it from the Russian. Then the tape was delivered to a secretary who typed it on paper.

When translating, I was forced to make comparisons. The American translator had cheated a lot because of the hurry, leaving out sentences and sometimes paragraphs. Both she, the German, and later the French translator had altered Shostakovich’s style into a wrong one: when Shostakovich talks in short staccato sentences, they had created long sentences in normal rhythm. That was, of course, wrong.

The translating effort became a tough job because I received the Russian original text on November 27th, 1979. Exactly a month later, right after Boxing Day, I had an Apex ticket to San Francisco. The Russian manuscript contained 404 sheets, and it plus the introduction that was edited in English and the appendices made 350 printed pages in Finnish (excluding the index).

- (2) ‘The deceased, as you know, have the inconvenient habit of cooling off too slowly; they’re burning hot. [. . .]’
 (3) ‘And since the deceased greats are also too large, they are cut down. [. . .]’

Chapter 2
 E35

is missing a passage (underlined) found in G64, F66, and R044:

‘For instance, I remember Shcherbachev’s piano suite, *Inventions*, written long ago, in the early twenties. At the time it seemed rather good to me. I recently heard it by chance on the radio. There’s no inventiveness there at all. Much less many inventions’.⁷⁴⁰

E36–37

has a number of passages (asterisked) that have been moved earlier. The original order (indicated in parentheses below) is found in F67, G66–67, and R045–46):

- (1) ‘And this was where Prokofiev landed like a chicken in the soup. [. . .]’
 (2a) ‘I don’t think that Prokofiev ever treated me seriously as a composer; [. . .]’
 *(6) ‘There was a period when Prokofiev was frightened out of his wits. [. . .]’
 *(7) ‘Meyerhold began work on Prokofiev’s opera *Semyon Kotko* [. . .].’
 *(8) ‘It was a new Ford and Prokofiev couldn’t handle it.’
 *(9) ‘Prokofiev had the soul of a goose; [. . .]’
 (2b) ‘Prokofiev had to swallow many humiliations, and somehow he managed. [. . .]’
 (3) ‘A characteristic example is the orchestration of Prokofiev’s ballets [. . .].’
 (4) [. . .] ‘orchestration was always work for him, [. . .]’
 (5) [. . .] ‘the Bolshoi treated his ballets barbarically. [. . .]’

⁷⁴⁰ Here the Russian, German, and Finnish texts differ somewhat. R044 may be translated as follows, which is slightly different from Bouis’s version given in the main text: ‘For example, I remember a piano suite by Shcherbachyov called “Inventions”. This is an old work, written in the beginning of the twenties. And at that time I thought it was a pretty good work. But recently I heard “Inventions” on the radio. Yes. We cannot talk about an invention there. Much less many inventions’. The last sentence in G64 misses the pun on the title: ‘Dafür aber von vielen Lügen’ (‘But, on the other hand, many lies’). F67 translates the Russian word for ‘Inventions’ as ‘Oivalluksia’ (‘insights’ or ‘realizations’) rather than ‘Inventioita’, yielding the following: ‘But recently I happened to hear “Realizations” on the radio. Very well. One cannot start talking about resourcefulness here. Nonetheless, even more about figments of imagination’.

F68 reverses the order of two paragraphs. The original order, indicated in parentheses below, is found in E37, G66–67, and R047:

(2) ‘Prokofiev was always afraid that he was being overlooked [. . .].’

(1) ‘For a while he was taken with the idea of writing an opera based on a Leskov story [. . .].’

E55, F86, R073 are missing a passage (underlined) found in G83:

‘[. . .] but she gave her money away as soon as she got it and then her phone would be disconnected for nonpayment. And the telephone charges are really minimal in our country!⁷⁴¹ / I was told the following story about Yudina’.

E57 is missing a passage (underlined) found in F88, G85, and R076:

‘Meyerhold dedicated one of his finest productions to him, *The Queen of Spades*. Later on I will tell you another story about *Pique-Dame*’.⁷⁴²

E74 is missing a passage (underlined) found in F106, G102, and R102:

‘Once Glazunov was in England, conducting his own works there. As everyone knows, he loved to conduct’.⁷⁴³

Chapter 3

E77, F109, R106 begin the chapter with a paragraph that appears twelve paragraphs later in G105:

‘I think of Meyerhold too frequently, [. . .].’

This originally stood, as in G, between the following in E79 and R108:

⁷⁴¹ ‘Und die sind bei uns nun tatsächlich minimal!’

⁷⁴² G85: ‘Über “Pique-Dame” muß ich noch gesondert erzählen’; F88: ‘*Pique-Dame* will yet have to be told about separately’.

⁷⁴³ R102 is in Shostakovich’s typical staccato style: ‘Once Glazunov was in England. He conducted his works there. As everyone knows, he loved to conduct’. F106 retains Shostakovich’s sentence structure, but with a slight alteration in meaning at the end: ‘Glazunov was once in England. Conducted there his own works. Conducted, as everyone knows, in quite a divine way’. In contrast, E74 (quoted in the main text above) and G102 combine short sentences into longer ones. However, the former follows the meaning of the Russian whereas the German is closer to the Finnish: ‘Er dirigierte dort eigene Kompositionen, dirigierte, wie jeder weiß, einfach göttlich’.

'I can only hope young people will be luckier.' // Meyerhold liked to dress elegantly [. . .].'

E83, F114–15,
R113–14

include a passage (underlined) that is missing in G109:

'An artistic project is planned, I'm asked to be the composer, and then there's always a scandal. It must be fate. "Fateful eggs", like Bulgakov's story. / One of the most "fateful eggs" was the first of the three productions of *Hamlet* with which I was involved. The production was scandalous, the most scandalous, they say, in the history of Shakespeare.'

E90, F121, G115

are missing a lengthy passage (underlined) found in R122–23 (*cf.* the facsimile on pp. 236–37 below):⁷⁴⁴

'Or rather, as the first professional actor upon whom such a historic mission was bestowed.

[The first actor to play Lenin in cinema was the late]⁷⁴⁵ Nikandrov. Eisenstein filmed him in the movie "October".⁷⁴⁶ Nikandrov was amazingly like Lenin. When people saw him, they were startled.

This worker did not even have to be made up to look like Lenin. When he, in the Lenin cap and the famed polka-dot tie, went to the street, the citizens turned into stone.

After all, it was only three years after Lenin's death. The shooting of the film took place in Leningrad. There were many anecdotes around the city regarding the appearances of comrade Nikandrov on the streets.

One anecdote went like this. Miraculously restored to life Lenin shows up in the Kremlin. This makes the new leadership very uneasy. They ask him for directions, what to do with the country. In response, Lenin asks them to bring the last three years of the newspapers. And the complete set of all decrees promulgated after his death.

⁷⁴⁴ This may have been cut because it repeats a well-known anecdote or because the flow of the text would have been interrupted by such a lengthy aside.

⁷⁴⁵ Difficult to decipher passages appear in brackets.

⁷⁴⁶ A reference to Mikhail Romm's *Lenin in October* (1937), directed by Eisenstein. Shostakovich was familiar with it and in a letter to Glikman of 30 August 1967 wrote:

As far as work is concerned, Eisenstein's film *October* has been released, with a score that A. A. Kholodiliv has put together from various works of mine. I have seen the film, and believe that overall my music has by and large added to it. But the film itself does not appeal to me; I really cannot understand why Eisenstein, and for that matter Dovzhenko, are considered geniuses. I don't much like their work. No doubt this simply reflects my lack of understanding, since the experts agree that they are geniuses.

He offers similarly critical remarks about Eisenstein in *Testimony*, pp. 131–33, 248, and 250.

Upon receipt, Lenin locks himself up in his room for three days and three nights. The new leadership respectfully awaits the word. [Finally, Lenin comes out. There is a silent question on everyone's faces. "I need a ticket to Zurich", says Lenin. "I am emigrating. To plan a revolution".]

Shchukin, like Akimov, was a very nasty man. [. . .]'

А "Быть или не быть"? Этот монолог Гамлет произносил, взвешивая в руке корону. Он её примерял, вертел всячески. Отношения с Офелией, стервой и шпионкой, у него были недвусмысленные. Гамлет её брехтал. И вот Офелия, беременная, с горя напивалась и тонула.

Превосходно получился Полоний. Это была, может быть, самая большая актерская удача акимовского спектакля /точе один из парадоксов Акимова/. Играл знаменитый Борис Шукин. Впоследствии Шукин еще более прославился как первый исполнитель роли Ленина в кино. Точнее, первый профессиональный актер, на которого была возложена историческая миссия такого рода.

~~Первым исполнителем роли Ленина в кино был актер Борис Шукин. Никандров. Эйзенштейн снял его в фильме "Октябрь". Никандров был невероятно похож на Ленина. Когда люди его видели, те вздрагивали.~~

~~Этого рабочего не надо было даже гримировать под Ленина. Когда он, в ленинской кепочке и прославленном галстуке в горошек выходил на улицу, те граждане столбенели.~~

~~Ведь прошло всего только три года после смерти Ленина. Съемки фильма Эйзенштейна происходили в Ленинграде. И по городу ходило много анекдотов в связи с выходами этого самого товарища Никандрова на улицы.~~

~~Один анекдот был примерно такой. Чудом оживший Ленин появляется в Кремле. Приводит этим в трепет новое руководство. От него просят указаний: что делать со страной. В ответ Ленин велит принести подлинку газет за три года. И полный комплект всех законодательных распоряжений, изданных после его смерти.~~

~~Получив требуемое, Ленин запирается в своем кабинете на три дня и три ночи. Члены руководства в почтительном ожидании ждут~~

~~ст. у. ... Шуккин ...~~

~~... Шуккин ...~~

~~... Шуккин ...~~

Шуккин, как и Акимов, был человек весьма ехидный. К роли Полония он подходил то так, то этак. Но сначала ничего не получалось. Впоследствии я познакомился со Шуккиным несколько лучше. Он в своем театре ставил спектакль по Бальзаку. А меня пригласил написать музыку. Тогда Шуккин и открыл мне маленький секрет своего успеха в "Тамлете".

Мне кажется, рассказ этот любопытен. И для актеров весьма поучителен. Маленький урок актерского мастерства. А я тогда очень смеялся.

Для Шуккина важно было как-то отойти от штампа. Роль Полония вообще не очень ясная. Он, вроде, хитрый. И немножко глуповатый одновременно. Может быть "благородным отцом". Так он держится с сыном. А по отношению к дочери — сводник.

Обыкновенно места, где появляется Полоний, для зрителя скучны. Но зритель прирек, терпит. Считается, что когда на сцене идет классик — можно и потерпеть. Классика надо уважать.

Шуккин в своей работе пользовался таким методом. Он отыскивал у разных своих знакомых черты и черточки, которые помогли бы слепить роль.

Так же Шуккин поступил и с Полонием. Немножко брал от одного приятеля. Немножко от другого. А потом как-то на репетиции Шуккин попытался прочесть монолог Полония так, как-будто он — Станиславского.

И вдруг роль начала получаться. Все стало на свои места. Даже самые темные куски роли, произнесенные в манере и от лица Станиславского, вдруг зазвучали убедительно.

E94, F125, R129 are missing a passage (underlined) found in G 119:

‘I didn’t have Zoshchenko’s determination and will power. Zoshchenko plainly rejected the idea of a Red Leo Tolstoy or a Red Rabindranath Tagore, and that sunsets and dawns had to be described in flowery prose. I had no success when I tried to express the average lives of my contemporaries by means of my music.⁷⁴⁷ / But I do have one excuse. I never tried to flatter the authorities with my music’.

E94 is missing a passage (underlined) found in F125, G119, and R129:

‘They say that I stood too close to power. It was, as Daniel Kharms would say, an optical illusion’.

Chapter 4

E143, F174, R196 include a passage (underlined) missing in G164:

‘It just lacked an excuse, the lightning needed an oak to strike, or at least a blockhead. Muradeli played the part of the blockhead. / But in the end, Muradeli didn’t get burned by the historic resolution “On the Opera *The Great Friendship*”’.

E148 is missing a passage (underlined) found in F179, G169, and R203:

‘[. . .] I played the scherzo from my Fifth Symphony on the piano. It was already evening.⁷⁴⁸ I thought, this is it, this is the last time I’ll ever play before an audience this size’.

Chapter 5

E156, F188, R213 include a passage (underlined) missing in G175:

‘Too many of our people died and were buried in places unknown to anyone, not even their relatives. It happened to many of my friends.⁷⁴⁹ Where do you put the tombstones for Meyerhold or Tukhachevsky?’

E157–58, F189–90, R216 include a passage (underlined) missing in G177:

‘Not one of these works could be performed then. They were heard only after Stalin’s death. I still can’t get used to it’.

⁷⁴⁷ ‘Mir gelang es nicht, das durchschnittliche Leben meiner Zeitgenossen in meiner Musik auszudrücken’.

⁷⁴⁸ ‘Es war schon Abend’.

⁷⁴⁹ In F188 and R213 this underlined sentence also begins a new paragraph.

E158, F190, R217 are missing two passages (underlined) found in G178:

‘But we must never forget about the dangers of anti-Semitism and keep reminding others of it, because the infection is alive and who knows if it will ever disappear. That’s why Yevtushenko’s poem “Babi Yar” was so extremely important. / That’s why I was overjoyed that this had been written by a young poet’.⁷⁵⁰

Chapter 6

E178, F212, R250 include a passage (underlined) missing in G198:

‘Chekov’s entire life is a model of purity and modesty — and not a modesty for show, but an inner modesty. That’s probably why I’m not a fan of certain memorial editions that can only be described as a spoonful of pitch in a barrel of honey. In particular, I’m quite sorry that the correspondence between Anton Pavlovich and his wife was ever published; [. . .]’⁷⁵¹

E187, F222, R265 are missing a passage (underlined) found in G207:

‘But aren’t there quite a few people just like him — believing in nothing, cruel, power-mad — who proclaim themselves deeply religious? Now I’m going to talk about superstition⁷⁵² / Stalin could definitely be called superstitious’.

E196, F231, R279 include a passage (underlined) missing in G215:

‘I don’t need brave words on music and I don’t think anyone does. We need brave music. I don’t mean brave in the sense that there will be charts instead of notes, I mean brave because it is truthful. Music in which the composer expresses his thoughts truthfully [. . .].’⁷⁵³

E202 is missing a passage (underlined) found in F238, G221, and R288:

⁷⁵⁰ ‘Darum war Jewtuschenkos Gedicht “Babij Jar” so unendlich wichtig. / Und ich war glücklich, daß es ein junger Dichter war, der es schrieb’.

⁷⁵¹ In G198, ‘Anton Pavlovich’ is identified just as ‘Tschechow’ and his wife as ‘Olga Knipper’; in R250 and F212, the latter appears as ‘O. L. Knipper Chekhova’, the L standing for the patronymic Leonardovna.

⁷⁵² ‘Damit komme ich zum Aberglauben’.

⁷⁵³ In F231 and R279, ‘I don’t mean brave in the sense [. . .]’ begins a new paragraph. Unlike E196 (given in the main text above), these also retain Shostakovich’s staccato style: ‘I don’t need brave words on music. I don’t think anyone does. We need brave music. / I don’t mean brave in the sense that, instead of notes, there will be graphics. Brave in the sense of truthful. In which the author truthfully expresses his thoughts’.

[. . .] even the White Sea Canal is marvelous and amazing. / Who asked André Malraux to get on the podium and exclaim: “You trusted murderers and saboteurs and saved many”. Who pulled his tongue?⁷⁵⁴ / Of course, I know that an entire brigade of respected Russian dullards wrote a collective book praising the White Sea Canal’.

E206 and F242 include a passage (underlined) missing in G224 and another (in italics) missing in R294:

‘It was a lot of fun. As Oleinikov said, “Truly, it was fun. Truly, it was funny”’.

E213, F250, R306 are missing a passage (underlined) found in G232:

‘A man changed his address and they left him alone. That was great because by that means he saved the authorities of security much work of “taking action”. As long as there was no entry in the list of wanted people who were searched throughout the whole Union, they could let him go and forget him.⁷⁵⁵ I know several such cases’.

E218, F256, R314 include two passages (underlined) missing in G238:

‘But he [Pasternak] also translated third-rate and completely unknown poets, a huge number of poets. This was a way — one way — to please Stalin’.⁷⁵⁶

E224, G242 include a subtitle (underlined) not found in F261 and R322:

‘Braga’s serenade, “A Maiden's Prayer”.⁷⁵⁷ plays an important part in *The Black Monk*’.

Chapter 7

E231, F269 include a passage (underlined) missing in G249 and R334⁷⁵⁸:

⁷⁵⁴ ‘Wer hat von André Malraux verlangt, von der Rednertribüne herunter zu schreien: “Ihr habt Mördern und Schädlingen Vertrauen geschenkt und dadurch viele gerettet!” Wer hat ihm das in den Mund gelegt?’ The final sentence, ‘Who put it in his mouth?’, is similar to, but not the same, as the idiomatic Russian expression translated in the main text.

⁷⁵⁵ ‘Vorausgesetzt, es war keine unionsweite Fahndung angeordnet, konnte man ihn laufenlassen und vergessen’.

⁷⁵⁶ F256 is slightly different: ‘But he [Pasternak] translated also poems by completely third-rate and completely unknown poets. A great array of Georgian poems. This was one of the many ways to please Stalin’.

⁷⁵⁷ ‘Gebet einer Jungfrau’.

‘I think it’s the ideal method for studying a work, and I would recommend that all young composers make their own versions of the works of those masters from whom they want to learn. I had known Boris almost by heart since my Conservatory days, but it was only when I orchestrated it that I sensed and experienced it as if it were my own work. / I suppose I can spend some time talking about the “Mussorgsky orchestra”’.

E237 is missing a passage (underlined) found in F276, G256, and R345⁷⁵⁹:

‘It doesn’t matter, criticism upsets me even though I don’t set much store by it, at least as it is represented by the majority of its practitioners. / To demonstrate that you are not an idiot is stupid. To demonstrate that Musorgsky was not an idiot is even more stupid.⁷⁶⁰ Mussorgsky disregarded the critics and listened to his inner voice’.

E238 is missing a passage (underlined) found in F277, G257, and R346⁷⁶¹:

‘For instance, musical memory. I can’t complain about mine and Mussorgsky memorized Wagner’s operas on first hearing, that is, new and very complex music.⁷⁶² He could play Wotan’s scene by heart after only one hearing of *Siegfried*’.

E239 is missing a passage (underlined) found in G258, F278, and R348:

‘As they say, artists are probably meant to drink by the State Liquor Authority. It’s very cozy drinking before lunch. And I think it did not particularly hinder either me, or my friend

⁷⁵⁸ Pagination altered by hand.

⁷⁵⁹ Pagination altered by hand.

⁷⁶⁰ ‘Beweisen zu wollen, man sei kein Idiot, ist töricht. Beweisen zu wollen, daß Mussorgskij kein Idiot war, ist noch törichter’.

⁷⁶¹ Pagination altered by hand.

⁷⁶² R346 may be translated slightly differently from Bouis’s version in the main text: ‘For example, musical memory. I, of course, cannot complain about it. Musorgsky memorized Wagner’s operas on the spot, that is, new and very complex music. He could, barely having acquainted himself with Siegfried, play from memory Wotan’s scene on the spot’. The missing (underlined) sentence in G257 reads: ‘[. . .] obwohl das für ihn eine ganz ungewohnt neue und sehr komplizierte Musik war’ ([. . .] though it was, for him, an unfamiliarly new and very complicated music’).

[Sollertinsky], or Mussorgsky. / What hurts is that Mussorgsky died of it'.⁷⁶³

E241

is missing a lengthy passage (underlined) found complete in F281–82 and G260–61, and truncated in R351–53 (*cf.* the facsimile on pp. 247–49 below):⁷⁶⁴

‘He [Asafiev] began finding flaws in *Prince Igor*, saying that Galitsky’s personality was a rough spot and that several lines, not thought through, did not respond to the lofty patriotic concept of *The Lay of Prince Igor*.

[paragraph 1]

In our times, an opera orchestra is no fifth wheel on the car, but rather an important partner. One should not make the singers’ lives easy at the cost of musical expression. They should by all means exert themselves, should feel in their bones that music demands sacrifice. I am not against singers, and each editorial change in Musorgsky’s text is a problem for me. But now and again, as in the “Songs and Dances of Death”, I did change something in order to make it easier for the singers. In the “Berceuse”, I raised one of the mother’s questions to Death a whole octave, since it is very difficult to sing expressively in the original middle range. In this way, I made it easier for the singers. Galina Vishnevskaya, who was the first to sing the altered part, was very much in agreement with this correction. Thus I do not fight with singers.

⁷⁶³ R348 may be translated slightly differently from Bouis’s version in the main text: ‘As they say, the State Liquor Authority orders artists to drink. Before dinner this is rather nice. And, I think, it did not particularly hinder either me, or my friend, or Musorgsky. / Another thing is sad. It is sad that Musorgsky died of it’. The missing (underlined) sentence in G258 reads: ‘Und ich glaube, es hat weder mich noch meinen Freund, noch Mussorgskij in der Arbeit behindert’ (‘And I think it neither hindered me nor my friend nor Mussorgsky in work’).

⁷⁶⁴ Pagination altered by hand.

[paragraph 2]

However, I also have never let myself be harassed by them. In European opera houses, they are too considerate of the singers and composers have kowtowed to them. In Russian opera, this development had a different outcome. Russian composers are more concerned with the expressive force of the music as a whole, the singers' concerns are secondary for them. In this sense, I am no exception to the Russian school of composers.

[paragraph 3]

Musorgsky — the most Russian of all Russian composers — was more of an exception in this sense. He made wonderful orchestrations of individual arias, made wonderful orchestrations of soft music, knew how to evaluate the resonant quality of a solo. However, he did not succeed with loud passages, tutti, climaxes.

[paragraph 4]

There are interesting passages of purely orchestral music in Musorgsky. For instance, a fragment in the sixth scene of the third act of “Khovanshchina”. Here he has worked out the percussion part in detail. That gives a very colorful, interesting effect. Here Musorgsky was ahead of his time, rushing into the twentieth century. Naturally, I preserved the author's colors in this episode.

[paragraph 5]

Because I am not a purist, I also thought it was possible to use instruments in “Khovanshchina” that were missing in Musorgsky, for example, celesta. Some people sneered at that and thought that Musorgsky would have rolled over in his grave. I'm afraid we will never know the real truth about that.

[paragraph 6]

I didn't want to have the audience leave the theater feeling depressed, so I wrote an epilogue to the opera and left it available ad libitum. I constructed this epilogue from the introductory music to the fifth act, the chorus: “O homeland, little mother Russia” from the first act and, naturally, from the theme of “Daybreak”. “Daybreak” has nothing to do with Old Believers [i.e., schismatics — Eds.] nor with the representatives of Petrine reformation. The theme symbolizes Russia, as it will be one day when it can breathe freely. I hope that Musorgsky would have had nothing against this interpretation.⁷⁶⁵

⁷⁶⁵ The translation in the main text is from G260–61:

In unseren Tagen ist das Opernorchester kein fünftes Rad am Wagen, sondern ein wichtiger Partner. Man darf den Sängern nicht auf Kosten einer ausdrucksvollen

Musik das Leben erleichtern. Sie sollen sich ruhig anstrengen, sollen in ihrer eigenen Haut fühlen, daß Musik Opfer verlangt. Ich bin den Sängern nicht feindlich gesonnen, und jede editorische Änderung in Mussorgskijs Text ist ein Problem für mich. Doch hin und wieder, so auch in den ‘Tänzen und Liedern vom Tod’, änderte ich etwas, um es den Sängern zu erleichtern. In der ‘Berceuse’ hob ich eine Frage der Mutter an den Tod um eine ganze Oktave, denn es ist sehr schwer, in der ursprünglichen Mittellage ausdrucksvoll zu singen. Auf diese Weise machte ich es den Sängern leichter. Galina Wischnewskaja, die den geänderten Part als erste sang, was mit der Korrektur sehr einverstanden. Ich bekämpfe also die Sänger nicht.

Aber ich lasse mich auch nicht von ihnen schurigeln. In den europäischen Operntheatern nimmt man zuviel Rücksicht auf die Sänger, und die Komponisten haben sich dem angepaßt. In der russischen Oper verlief die Entwicklung anders. Den russischen Komponisten geht es vor allem um die Ausdruckskraft der Musik insgesamt, die Interessen der Sänger sind für sie zweitrangig. Ich bin hier keine Ausnahme in der russischen Komponistenschule.

Eher war Mussorgskij — der russischste aller russischen Komponisten — hier eine Ausnahme. Wundervoll orchestrierte er einzelne Arien, wundervoll orchestrierte er leise Musik, wußte ein Solotimbre einzuschätzen. Doch die lauten Passagen, die Tutti, die Kulminationen gelangen ihm nicht.

Es gibt bei Mussorgskij interessante Passagen rein orchestraler Musik. So auch ein Bruchstück in der sechsten Szene des dritten Aktes der ‘Chowantschina’. Hier hat er die Partie der Schlaginstrumente detailliert ausgearbeitet. Das bringt einen sehr farbigen, interessanten Effekt. Hier was Mussorgskij seiner Zeit voraus ins zwanzigste Jahrhundert geeilt. Und selbstverständlich behielt ich in dieser Episode des Autors Kolorit bei.

Da ich kein Purist bin, hielt ich es auch für möglich, in der ‘Chowantschina’ Instrumente zu verwenden, die bei Mussorgskij fehlen, zum Beispiel die Celesta. Darüber mokierten sich manche, meinten, Mussorgskij würde sich im Grabe umdrehen. Ich fürchte, eine genaue Information darüber werden wir niemals bekommen.

Ich wollte das Publikum nicht bedrückt aus dem Theater entlassen und schrieb daher einen Epilog zu der Oper, stelle ihn ad libitum zur Verfügung. Ich habe diesen Epilog aus der Einführungsmusik zum fünften Akt, dem Chor: ‘O Heimatland, Mütterchen Rußland’ aus dem ersten Akt und, natürlich, dem Thema ‘Tagesanbruch’ zusammengebaut. ‘Tagesanbruch’ hat weder mit den Altgläubigen zu tun noch mit den Repräsentanten der petrinischen Reformen. Das Thema steht für Rußland, das eines Tages frei atmen können wird. Ich hoffe, Mussorgskij würde gegen diese Interpretation nichts einzuwenden haben.

Inexplicably, the text at the bottom of R351 does not continue onto page 352, but ends in mid-word. For comparison, a translation of the truncated passage in R is also given below. The underlined portion corresponds to that in the main text.

R351, last paragraph:

Naturally, in this situation I and Musorgsky ended up in one camp, and Asafiev — in another one. He — with tormentors and oppressors. Even in ‘Prince Igor’ he began to find separ- [text missing]

R352, from the top:

difficult. So I made life easier for the singers. Galina Vishnevskaya, the first performer, approved the correction. So I do not quarrel with singers.

But I am not going to do everything they want either. In European opera theaters they care too much about the singers. And foreign authors are used to this. In the Russian opera there was a different approach. Russian composers cared first about

According to Asafiev, Borodin is an optimist and Mussorgsky a pessimist’.

E242

is missing a passage (underlined) found in F282, G262, and R354⁷⁶⁶:

‘In Russia we like to attack the defenseless composer and accuse him of darkest pessimism. Sasha Chorny used to express it as

the expressive quality of music, and the interests of the singers were for them secondary. In that sense, I am not an exception to the Russian school of composition.

It is interesting that Musorgsky, perhaps the most Russian of the composers, on this issue was probably an exception. He orchestrated wonderfully all solo episodes and quiet passages. He understood the solo timbre. But loud passages he could not do. He could not handle tutti, culminations.

Musorgsky has interesting excerpts of purely orchestral music. For example, a part in ‘Khovanshchina’ which he orchestrated himself: from the sixth scene of the third act. There the percussion is worked out in detail. It turned out interesting, coloristically. In this case, even in terms of orchestration, Musorgsky jumped into the twentieth century. So I kept his coloristic and timbral solution in this episode.

I am not a purist, so I considered it appropriate to use in ‘Khovanshchina’ instruments that were not present in Musorgsky’s score. For example, celesta. [Text blacked out] Some made wry faces. And they said that Musorgsky himself would have turned in his coffin [grave]. I fear, we will never receive exact information about this.

I did not want the listener to leave the theater depressed. So I wrote an epilogue to the opera. I offer it ad libitum. The epilogue consists of music from the introduction to the fifth act, the chorus of the wanderers ‘Oh, You Dear Mother Russia’ from the first act. And, of course, it includes the theme of the ‘Sunrise’. The ‘Sunrise’ does not refer either to the Peter men or the Old Believers. It is over Russia, which would be able to breathe freely some time. I hope, Musorgsky would not have objected to such an interpretation.

According to Asafiev, Borodin is an optimist, and Musorgsky is a pessimist. [. . .]

Various differences may be noted in comparing the English translations of the German and Russian texts above. Other variants in the German, Russian, and Finnish versions include:

- (1) In paragraph 3, the Finnish and German texts combine two sentences as follows: ‘But with loud passages, tutti, culminations he was not successful’ (*cf.* the Russian above).
- (2) In paragraph 4, the Finnish combines two sentences as follows: ‘The percussion part is written there in great detail, and the result is a very interesting color [timbre]’ (*cf.* the Russian above).
- (3) In paragraph 5, the Russian and Finnish have two sentences where the German has one: ‘Some have sneered at me because of that. And said that Musorgsky would turn in his grave, if he could know about such impudence’ (translated from the Finnish; *cf.* the Russian above). The same is true in paragraph 6, which also includes a slight alteration in meaning: ‘The epilogue consists of music from the introduction to the fifth act and from the chorus of the wanderers “Oh you, mother Russia” of the first act. And ends, of course, with the theme of the “Sunrise”’ (translated from the Finnish; *cf.* the Russian above).

⁷⁶⁶ Pagination altered by hand.

follows: “This man has talent, but he is a hopeless pessimist”.⁷⁶⁷
I’ve been put down that way many times, but it doesn’t hurt
because all of my favorites — Gogol, Saltykov-Shchedrin, Leskov,
Chekov, Zoshchenko — have been blackened with the same
brush’.

⁷⁶⁷ In G262, ‘Sascha Tschornyj drückte es so aus: “Der Mann hat Talent, aber er ist ein hoffnungsloser Pessimist”’. In F282, ‘Sasha Chornyj put it splendidly [. . .].’

Ну, произвели некоторый текущий ремонт либретто. Покрасили, подлатали, и оно приобрело свеженький актуальный вид. В таком виде опера Глинки получилась вполне в порядке дня. Не чета довольно-таки подозрительным созданиям Мусоргского. Тут простому человеку четко указывалось, что к чему. И как надлежит действовать в критической ситуации. И вся инструкция сопровождается красивейшей музыкой.

И еще два оперных произведения получили в тот период актуальность: "Князь Игорь" и "Псковитянка". В "Псковитянке" особенно нравился власти финальный хор. В нем, как известно, сливаются в трогательном согласии голоса бандитов-опричников и уstraпленных псковичей. А именно: они совместно славят единодержавную власть Ивана Грозного. Как сие вышло у свободолюбивого Римского-Корсакова - ума не приложу.

На языке Асафьева это называлось "всезаключающее чувство конечной правоты действительности". Вот так, слово в слово. Недавно даже специально проверял. По-моему, изумительная образочка. Лучшего образа возвышенно-блудливого стиля я не найду. Вся дакейская душа Асафьева тут как на подносе.

Что же это за словоблудие такое - "конечная правота действительности"? И что это за "всезаключающее чувство"? Значит, и к террору, к чисткам, к процессам, к пыткам надо относиться со "всезаключающим чувством"? Значит, за всем этим позором - "конечная правота"? Нет, я отказывался признать конечную правоту за злодеями, даже если они и сверхдействительны.

Ясное дело, в этой ситуации мы с Мусоргским оказались в одном лагере, а Асафьев - совсем в другом. Он - с мучителями и гонителями. И даже в "Князе Игоре" он уже стал находить отдель-

трудно. Вот я и облегчил жизнь певцам. Галина Вишневская, первая исполнительница, поправку приняла и одобрила. Так что с певцами я не воюю.

Но идти на поводу у них тоже не намерен. В европейских оперных театрах о певце слишком заботятся. И зарубежные авторы к этому приспособились. В русской опере подход был другой. Русские композиторы всегда в первую очередь заботились о выразительности музыки, а интереса певца были для них на втором плане. И я в этом смысле не являюсь исключением в русской школе композиции.

Интересно, что Мусоргский — самый, быть может, русский композитор — в данном вопросе был, скорее, исключением. Он великолепно оркестровал сольные эпизоды, великолепно оркестровал тихую музыку. Он понимал, что значит сольный тембр. Но громкие места у него попросту не выходили. Не получались тутти, кульминации.

У Мусоргского попадаются интересные куски чисто оркестровой музыки. Скажем, кусочек "Хованщины", который он оркестровал сам: отрывок из шестой сцены третьего действия. Тут он детально разработал партии ударных. Получилось колористически любопытно. В этом случае Мусоргский и в смысле оркестровки забегал вперед, в двадцатый век. И я в данном эпизоде сохранил авторский тембровый колорит.

Не будучи пуристом, я считал возможным использовать в "Хованщине" и такие инструменты, которые у Мусоргского отсутствуют. Например, челеста. ~~Мусоргский не использовал челесту.~~ Некоторые моршились. И горючили, что сам Мусоргский перевернулся бы в гробу, услышав подобное безобразие. Боюсь, что точной информации на сей счет мы никогда не получим.

353
~~352~~

Мне не хотелось, чтобы слушатель уходил из театра подавленным. И я написал эпилог к опере. Предлагаю его *ad libitum*. Эпилог состоит из музыки вступления к пятому акту, хора при-

шлих людей "Ох, ты родная матушка Русь" из первого акта. И, разумеется, включает в себя тему "Рассвета".

"Рассвет" не имеет отношения ни к петровцам, ни к раскольникам. Он — над Россией, которая когда-нибудь вздохнет свободно. Надеюсь, Мусоргский не возражал бы против подобного толкования.

У Асафьева Бородин — оптимист, а Мусоргский — пессимист.

Асафьев ведь еще и литературой баловался. И в одной его такой вот доморощенной пьеске Мусоргский волею автора якобы говорит Бородину следующую чушь: "Вам правит жизнь, мною смерть".

Что сей бред значит? Пока мы живем, всеми нами, без исключения, правит жизнь. А когда умрем — опять же без исключения, всеми смерть править будет. И это от оптимистической или, напротив, пессимистической направленности сочинений наших не зависит. К сожалению, или к счастью — не знаю.

Эту

глубокую идею Асафьев, в виде исключения, пронес через всю жизнь.

Я, признаться, никогда до конца не понимал, что это значит в отношении творческого человека — оптимист, пессимист. Вот я, например, пессимист или оптимист? Затрудняюсь ответить. В отношении соседа моего по дому, который живет несколькими этажами выше, я, может быть, оптимист. А в отношении своей жизни я, может быть, пессимист.

Chapter 8

E248, F288, R361 are missing a passage (underlined) in G267:

‘That would be like Pushkin asking his contemporaries to imitate Benkendorff or Dubelt. / I personally agree with what Nekrasov wrote: [. . .] you don’t have to be a poet, but you do have to be a citizen’.⁷⁶⁸ In G267, the quotation is indented as a block quotation.⁷⁶⁹

E256, F297, R373 attribute a metaphor to Anna Akhmatova instead of Osip Mandelshtam in G275:

‘One of my students dubbed it Savior-on-the-Mustache [*Spas-na-Usakh*, a pun on the church Spas-na-Peskakh, or Savior-on-the-Sands, in Moscow], referring to Stalin’s mustache, which Akhmatova called “roach whiskers”’.⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁶⁸ ‘Ich halte es mit Nekrassow: Ein Dichter brauchst du nicht zu sein, Ein Bürger aber unbedingt’.

⁷⁶⁹ In a letter of 10 June 2000, Pross-Weerth notes about the English translation: ‘Dies sind zwei Zeilen aus einem berühmten Gedicht von Nikolaj Nekrassow, sie hätten als Zitat gekennzeichnet werden müssen.’ (‘These two lines are taken from a famous poem by Nikolay Nekrasov and they should have been clearly marked as a quote, but were not’).

⁷⁷⁰ ‘Gemeint war Stalins Schnurrbart, den Ossip Mandelstam “Küchenschabenbart” genannt hatte’. The correct writer is Mandelshtam, though Akhmatova may also have repeated this metaphor. It appears in his November 1933 epigram against Stalin (‘We live unable to sense the country under our feet’): ‘[. . .] then his walrus mustache begins to laugh — like a cockroach’. As Gregory Freidin reports (‘Mandelshtam, Osip Emilyevich’, on the Internet at <www.stanford.edu/~gfreidin/Publications/mandelstam/mandelshtam_web02.pdf>):

Aware of a mounting opposition to Stalin within the party, which reached its crescendo in January 1934 at the 17th Party Congress, Mandelshtam hoped that his poem would become urban folklore and broaden the base of the anti-Stalin opposition. In the poem, Stalin, ‘a slayer of peasants’ with worm-like fingers and cock-roach mustachios, delights in wholesale torture and executions. Denounced by someone in his circle, Mandelshtam was arrested for the epigram in May 1934 and sent into exile, with Stalin’s verdict ‘isolate but protect’. The lenient verdict was dictated by Stalin’s desire to win over the intelligentsia to his side and to improve his image abroad, a policy in line with his staging of the First Congress of Soviet Writers (August 1934).

The stress of the arrest, imprisonment and interrogations, which forced Mandelshtam to divulge the names of friends who had heard him recite the poem, led to a protracted bout of mental illness. [. . . He] attempted suicide by jumping out of the window [of the hospital in Cherdyn’ . . . and later] became obsessed with the idea of redeeming his offense against Stalin and transforming himself into a new Soviet man.

**3. Introduction to the 2nd Russian edition of Volkov's *Shostakovich and Stalin* (2006)
Galina and Maxim Shostakovich
(translated by Antonina W. Bouis)**

You are holding Solomon Volkov's *Shostakovich and Stalin*; this book is devoted to the eternal problem of the opposition between artist and tyrant.

In plumbing the depths of the work of Dmitri Shostakovich, one realizes that his music, like the creations of all the truly Great Artists, is devoted to the endless battle between Good and Evil, Love and Hate, Joy and Sorrow, brought to an extreme inner tension in its very essence.

Born into the terrifying twentieth century and having survived and withstood it, Shostakovich, like a prophet, reflected the terrible tragedy of his times in the language of his creativity, as if in a pitiless mirror.

One often hears the question: 'How would have Shostakovich written if he had lived in a free world, not knowing sorrow, need, or fear?' Alas, the opposition of Good and Evil is inherent to all times, all ages, all political systems.

Take, for instance, Shostakovich's Seventh 'Leningrad' Symphony. It is perfectly obvious that the symphony is not only about World War II. It is a symphony about the wars that have taken place and that are yet to come in the future, about the tragedies and cataclysms that our people suffered during the Communist tyranny, and most importantly, about Mankind, forced to suffer and live through all of this.

This applies to all of Shostakovich's work. Recently, the composer Boris Tishchenko, a student of his, decided to time the famous 'invasion episode' in the first movement of the Leningrad Symphony. The episode consists of 350 measures and at the metronome setting of 126 per quarter note, it lasts for exactly 666.666 seconds! That is the Number of the Beast from the Apocalypse. It is unlikely that the composer had calculated the formula intentionally. Undoubtedly, this was a revelation from Providence.

The Lord protects his prophets. Shostakovich survived. Shostakovich won.

Looking back, it is difficult to imagine a more terrible time for an artist than the Stalinist period. Shostakovich and many of his outstanding contemporaries were puppets in the hands of the insidious puppet master: if he so wished, he executed them, if he so wished, he spared them.

Gathering a wealth of material, Solomon Volkov reveals to the reader in great detail the ugliness and terrible unpredictability of that 'theater' where the puppets were real people with real lives.

The vicious milestones of the past are gradually fading from memory. Volkov's book is a reminder.

Shostakovich is no more, but his eternal music, which is both his confession and sermon, and often his prophesy, will always cast down Evil and celebrate the triumph of Good.

We, Shostakovich's children, who watched his life pass before our eyes, express our profound gratitude to Solomon Volkov for his marvelous work, the naked truth of which will undoubtedly help our contemporaries and future generations better to see the difficult fate of our unforgettable father, and through it, better to understand his music.



*Solomon Volkov and Maxim Shostakovich:
Celebrating Maxim's upcoming 70th birthday at the Russian Samovar in New York,
30 March 2008.*

4. 'Testimony, I Presume?'⁷⁷¹ Per Skans

In the spring of 1979, it was already common knowledge in wide Moscow musical circles that Shostakovich's memoirs were about to appear in the West. For obvious reasons, the controversial subject was never discussed in public, and Soviet officialdom never revealed that it was aware of this forthcoming event out of its control. In the late 1970s, Per Skans, in his capacity as a music producer at the Swedish Radio, was preparing a series on music and music life in the USSR together with his colleague Björn W. Stålné. They spent months there, travelling around the country three times in 1979 alone, and according to the Gosteleradio this was the largest series on the subject ever made by a foreign broadcasting company. Per Skans later returned to his materials and annotations from that year, and here he tells us about the chronology as viewed with his and his colleague's eyes; and also about a few comments by the illustrious musicologist Erik Tawaststjerna.

a. A Typescript

The old man in front of us cleared his throat before he answered the question. He had suffered a stroke about a year earlier, so his voice had lost some of its former strength, and he spoke rather softly when he said:

This personality is dialectically very varied, and one must either tell too much about him, or too little.⁷⁷²

And he bluntly refused to say anything more concerning Dmitry Dmitrievich Shostakovich, about whom I had asked him to say a few personal words. My colleague Björn W. Stålné from the Swedish Radio and I were somewhat dumbfounded, because during all our stays in the USSR it had never before happened that somebody would not happily sing this composer's praise in all keys. And we had been expecting Leo Moritsevich Ginzburg, the legendary conducting teacher at the Moscow Conservatory, to do the same. On my previous meeting with him, in April 1964 at an orchestral class where he was instructing some of his conducting students, among them Dmitry Kitayenko ('watch this man, he has a great future!'), he had been very talkative, no matter which subject I had raised. But now, in March 1979, he was not prepared to say anything at all about Shostakovich.

If we were dumbfounded at that moment, we were baffled a few seconds later. Someone entered Prof. Ginzburg's office to ask him a question, and during this short

⁷⁷¹ © 2005 by Per Skans; another version of this piece, slightly edited, was published in *DSCH Journal*, 23, July 2005, pp. 56–58, and *DSCH Journal*, 24, January 2006, pp. 25–26.

⁷⁷² 'Es ist eine sehr dialektisch verschiedene Persönlichkeit, von der man oder zu viel sagen muss, oder zu wenig'. As my colleague did not understand Russian, I had simplified matters by asking Leo Ginzburg my question in German. I already knew that his command of German was splendid: he had spent two years around 1930 in Berlin as an assistant of Klemperer and Scherchen. His little mistake in saying 'oder ... oder' (rather than 'entweder ... oder') is easily explained as an influence from the Russian 'ili ... ili'.

time, our 'guide' and helper from the Gosteleradio, one Aleksandr Petrov, lent towards us hissing:

It has not been agreed that you should ask questions on this subject. If you continue doing this, I shall consider this interview as illegal.

After Prof. Ginzburg's refusal we were anyhow not going to ask anything more about Shostakovich, but afterwards when we were alone with 'chort Petrov',⁷⁷³ as his colleagues (and we) were in the habit of calling our 'guide' when he was not present, we gave him one of the fiercest admonitions that I have ever given anybody, telling him that if his threat materialised, the Soviet Embassy in Stockholm would immediately encounter his name as part of a full account of the incident in Swedish mass media. After that he was less aggressive. Basically he was a nice chap, like most of our 'guides'. Of course they were supposed to do a surveillance job, but we knew this, and they understood that we knew. Frankly spoken, they at the same time did some incredible work fighting Soviet bureaucracy to facilitate (most of) our work. Therefore we are to this day most grateful to these persons whose position was a rather difficult one.

We observed that rumours about the forthcoming Shostakovich memoirs were spreading rapidly in Moscow during the spring, summer and autumn of 1979. We were representatives of a Western broadcasting station, so there is nothing strange about the fact that only those who already knew us well enough to trust us would dare to speak to us about it. One thing did however strike us: Moscow was the only Soviet city where the subject was raised in our presence. Nothing was, for example, said in Leningrad, the Baltic republics or Caucasia. This may however have been a coincidence, though the two latter areas were the ones where people rarely hesitated to speak their minds, even during the Brezhnev era. Strangely, it was in the Soviet Union, *not* in the West, that we first heard about the existence of *Testimony*.

Some time after our visit to Prof. Ginzburg, still in the spring of 1979, I met the well-known Finnish music critic Seppo Heikinheimo (1938–1997) during a visit to Helsinki. Over a lunch he suddenly asked me: 'Do you know Shostakovich's memoirs? They are sensational'. At the time I still knew no details, so he began revealing various particulars to me. He was familiar with them, because he had been assigned the task of translating the book into Finnish from the original Russian.⁷⁷⁴ On that occasion he did not have his typescript copy at hand, so he could not show it to me,⁷⁷⁵ but when we met

⁷⁷³ Literally: 'the devil Petrov'. Idiomatically: 'that bloody Petrov'.

⁷⁷⁴ It is worth mentioning that not all translations of *Testimony* have been done directly from the Russian. For example, the Swedish version is a less than brilliant translation of the American version. When I translated a passage directly from Russian into Swedish and compared it with the Swedish edition, I discovered several grave errors in the latter; obvious results of translating a translation instead of the original. Some of these were, in fact, so severe that they left me wondering whether the American translation (which I don't know) really is a correct rendering of the Russian.

⁷⁷⁵ It is questionable whether Heikinheimo actually was in possession of the Russian typescript as early as spring 1979 and had already been 'assigned the task of translating' it. After searching through all of the cultural pages of *Helsingin Sanomat* between 1 January 1979 and 4 April 1980, Lång reports that none of Heikinheimo's articles before the latter's 'Gennadi Rozhdestvenski palaa tiedonhalusta' ('Gennady Rozhdestvensky is Burning with the Desire to Know') of 3 September 1979 displays any familiarity with

the next time, in September with Björn W. Stålné present, he handed it over to us as a loan until the next day. We had a full copy made, which we deposited at the library of the Swedish Radio. This is a strictly closed library, serving only members of the staff for programme purposes, and it is of no use for outsiders to try to get access to its items: even I am now, having retired from the Radio, denied access, in spite of having worked at the company for three decades!

Heikinheimo made us promise not to disclose to anyone that we had access to a copy of the typescript, ‘for a period of twenty-five years’, as he put it. During all these years it has been difficult for us to keep the promised silence, especially when there were complaints that there was no possibility to get access to the Russian version of *Testimony*: we were furthermore convinced that other copies must have been around as well. A promise is, however, a promise, so we kept it even after Heikinheimo died some years ago. We also had to promise never ever to reveal the identities of the persons who had hidden the typescript in the USSR until it was ‘exported’.

The typescript copy that we received did not contain any preface, nor any other comments like foot- or endnotes. It was just the text of the book itself, which after typing had been edited in a few places. Our series of broadcasts about Soviet music and music life was already running at the time when we received the material, but we were able to outline a number of passages from the typescript in a broadcast about Shostakovich on 14 October 1979 (about a fortnight before *Testimony* first appeared in print), introducing the fact of its existence with the words (in connection with the problems of 1948): ‘Shostakovich comments on this extensively in his memoirs which are due to be published within a few weeks, though not by the Soviet publishing house Muzyka, but by a Western publisher. We have had an opportunity to read these memoirs in advance, memoirs which are based on personal interviews and should according to Shostakovich’s own wish not be published before his death’. Among other things that we included, I might mention a comment on the Seventh Symphony: ‘In his as yet still not released memoirs, he says that his bleeding heart is rather turning against Stalin — in Shostakovich’s view, Stalin was guilty of the destruction of Leningrad’; and about the Tenth Symphony: ‘That this scherzo is a portrait of Stalin is truly one of the greatest pieces of musical news of the year 1979’.⁷⁷⁶ In the months to follow, *Testimony* was frequently quoted on the music channel of the Swedish Radio.

the actual text of *Testimony*. In this interview, Rozhdestvensky reports that a week earlier he read the English-language proofs of *Testimony* in London. He goes on to say that Shostakovich signed each and every sheet of the Russian-language manuscript to verify its authenticity — a blatant error that Heikinheimo likely would have corrected had he already seen, let alone had in his possession, a copy of the Russian text. In *Mätämunan muistelmat*, p. 391, Heikinheimo further states that ‘The conductor Gennady Rozhdestvensky was the first acquaintance of mine who got the book [actually proofs of it in London, late August 1979] in his hands’.

⁷⁷⁶ Sveriges Riksradio P 2, Sunday, 14 October 1979, 09.00 CET: ‘Runt musikens Sovjet’ med Per Skans och Björn W. Stålné. I dag: Ett musikens flaggskepp. Dmitrij Sjostakovitj snabbporträtteras. (Archive code: 5460-79/3203 PS). It does not need mentioning that all quotations and references were well within the stipulated limits for such material in radio broadcasts.

b. Erik Tawaststjerna

The Finnish musicologist Erik Tawaststjerna (1916–94) did not only publish one of the most remarkable musical biographies of the twentieth century, that of Jean Sibelius, with which he was occupied during twenty-three years until 1988. At the time of his death he had also for many years been preparing a biography of Shostakovich, whom he knew personally; it must be regretted very much that this work never materialised. Before turning to musicology he had studied the piano (i.e., after the war with Neuhaus in Moscow and Cortot in Paris), and he had given concerts in the USSR and several other countries. In May 1979, I visited him at his Helsinki home, and here follow some excerpts from what I recorded as a contribution to a broadcast on Shostakovich.⁷⁷⁷ When listening to his statements today, I find it interesting that they have not lost anything of their relevance in the twenty-five years that have passed; consequently they were very ‘modern’ in the spring of 1979. Regrettably I do not know whether Seppo Heikinheimo at that time had shown him the *Testimony* typescript, but they were living in the same city.⁷⁷⁸

Concerning how Shostakovich was affected by the 1936 crisis, Tawaststjerna said: ‘This is a very difficult question. We know the result, but not what the result might have been had the *Lady Macbeth* crisis not occurred. Apparently he shelved some opera plans, and as we all know he interrupted the rehearsal work of the Fourth Symphony. I

⁷⁷⁷ The same broadcast as mentioned before, on 14 October 1979.

⁷⁷⁸ Eds. — Although best known for his research on Sibelius, Tawaststjerna also was an expert on Russian music and had written his docent thesis or second dissertation in 1960 on Prokofiev’s opera *War and Peace*. Because of his close relationship with Heikinheimo, it is very likely that he was aware of and even had access to Heikinheimo’s Russian typescript early on. As Lång points out (email of 3 June 2009):

Tawaststjerna and Heikinheimo were not only ‘living in the same city’ but were also professor and student at Helsinki University, employer and employee, neighbors, and colleagues in *Helsingin Sanomat*. Heikinheimo worked as a part-time secretary for Tawaststjerna in the 1960s when the latter was preparing his Sibelius biography: mainly Heikinheimo typed what Tawaststjerna dictated. In *Mätämunan muistelmat*, p. 102, Heikinheimo says that Tawaststjerna was a ‘spiritual father’ for him. In the 1980s, they even lived in the same apartment building (Luotsikatu Street No. 5) in Helsinki and visited each other frequently. Furthermore, they both worked as music critics at *Helsingin Sanomat*. When Shostakovich died, Heikinheimo arranged for Tawaststjerna to write the obituary for him.

Some insight into Tawaststjerna’s view of *Testimony* may be found in Anhava’s *Professori, piispa ja tyhjyys*, pp. 64–65:

When I discussed these memoirs with Erik Tawaststjerna, he thought that they are factually correct, but was sure that Shostakovich could not have authorized them to be published in that shape. ‘I cannot believe that had he read the proofs he would have left there those horrible words about Prokofiev, for instance’.

Sometimes, to write unpleasant truths serves the same purpose as to stick needles in a voodoo puppet: you can imagine how the enemy suffers. When the needles have been applied, when the text is on paper, you feel better, and it’s no longer necessary to print those nasty things.

If the self-censorship of the last reading only seals the authenticity, the memoirs of Shostakovich are not authentic. But this applies to all posthumous books’ (transl. by Lång).

think that this crisis resulted in a more classicist tendency, but I could not characterise the Fifth Symphony as a weak work. On the contrary, it is a very fine work, though it has a more classical character than the Fourth’.

About Shostakovich’s relation to his hometown: ‘Leningrad was his spiritual home, it was his mother. I shall never forget how desolate Leningrad seemed in 1946. There was a greatness over the city — well, the same greatness is present now, too, but it appeared so much sharper because so many houses lay in ruins; in other words there was a special atmosphere about Leningrad. I saw posters with Shostakovich’s name, he was to play twelve of his twenty-four Preludes, but I suddenly realised that the architecture of Leningrad had played a certain, very significant rôle for Shostakovich. And I also realised that the city’s atmosphere as a window towards Europe was very important for him. One could sense this atmosphere, that here were influences from Schönberg, Bartók, Hindemith and Alban Berg — *Wozzeck* — and that was the atmosphere that he breathed. And he would also stroll along the same streets as Raskolnikov, and I saw the cinema where he had been playing to earn a little bit of money during his years of study. I was able to comprehend how he lived there — and he always would return to Leningrad whenever possible, even if Moscow became his main domicile’.

About the time after the 1948 crisis: ‘So I believe that he eventually returned to his original line, albeit gradually. *The Song of the Forests* is a purely minor work, a manifest result of the 1948 crisis — but the Violin Concerto, which was first shelved, to be played later, is one of his foremost works, and above all I think that in his last works, close to death, he has reached a new modernism. And we can never know whether his Fourteenth Symphony would ever have materialised if his life had not taken the turn that it did. In any case I think that the Fourteenth Symphony is one of the great peaks among his musical works and of music in our time’.

About the DSCH motto: ‘The motto motif is present in many works, but I especially want to stress the Eighth Quartet. There I think that it has a strongly autobiographical significance. He got inspired to [write] the Eighth Quartet when he did film music [in Dresden] and was staying there, surrounded by ruins and memories of war. Then he posed himself the question: “Who am I, Dmitry Shostakovich?” He began with, let us call it a stylised Bach fugue, with the motto motif as main theme, then follow remembrances from his youth: the First Symphony, the early years in Leningrad. Then there are remembrances from the so-called rehabilitation work, the Fifth Symphony. It is a life period of struggle and difficulties. In the Scherzo then there appears a theme with a Jewish character, and he links his own theme to that one. Does this not tell us something, is it not, just like Babi Yar, an identification with the Jewish fate?’

Question: ‘Why could it be that he devoted himself to Jewish themes in several works?’

Tawaststjerna: ‘To begin with, he is the great Dostoyevsky figure of Russian music, with a special ability to suffer, and in the Jewish music, at least in the themes that he is using, the suffering is present everywhere; even if laughter is on the surface, weeping is always beneath it. And he was spiritually related to Mahler. To mention but one example: the Scherzo of the Tenth Symphony. There we also find the multi-layered Mahlerian

psychology with the bitter irony and the joke simultaneously, and with the tragedy and satire; all of this is also simultaneously present in Shostakovich'.

This is the third page from Chapter 5 of *Testimony*, taken from the copy of the Russian typescript that we received on loan from Seppo Heikinheimo and copied in September 1979. I have chosen this particular page because it was from there that our first material from *Testimony* in a Swedish Radio broadcast was taken. Note the two different paginations. The typewritten one (-3-) is a pagination that begins anew in every fresh chapter. The other one (213) runs through the entire manuscript and has obviously been made (rather carelessly) with a pagination stamp. The type is identical with or strongly reminiscent of the Pica Cyrillic, which was in frequent use on the most common typewriters and stamps in the USSR, which were of Soviet or East German origin.

- 3 -

213

Сейчас любят вспоминать предвоенное время как идиллию. Всё было, дескать, хорошо, да Гитлер помешал. Гитлер преступник, это ясно. Но и Сталин преступник.

Мне бесконечно больно за тех людей, которых уничтожил Гитлер. Но за людей, погибших по сталинским приказам мне больно не меньше. Мне больно за всех замученных, расстрелянных, умерших от голода. Война с Гитлером еще не началась, а их уже в нашей стране были миллионы.

Война принесла много нового горя, много новых разрушений. Но я не забыл страшные предвоенные годы. Вот об этом - все мои симфонии, начиная с Четвертой. И Седьмая с Восьмой в том числе.

В конце концов, я не против того, чтобы Седьмую симфонию называли "Ленинградской". Но она - не о блокаде Ленинграда. Она о Ленинграде, который уничтожил Сталин. А Гитлер уже просто добивал.

Большинство моих симфоний - надгробные памятники. Слишком много у нас людей погибло неизвестно где. И никто не знает, где они похоронены. Даже близкие не знают.

Так случилось со многими моими друзьями. Где поставить надгробие Мейерхольду или Тухачевскому? Только музыка может это сделать. Я готов написать сочинение о каждом из погибших. Но это невозможно. Поэтому я посвящаю им всю свою музыку.

Я все время помню об этих людях. И почти в каждом своем крупном сочинении стараюсь напомнить о них и другим. Условия военных лет этому благоприятствовали. В это время меньше придирались к музыке. Меньше негодовали, что все как-то слишком мрачно.

5. Attempted Censorship in the American Musicological Society

a. Original AMS Abstract

The ‘*Testimony* Affair’: Complacency, Cover-up, or Incompetence?

Allan B. Ho

Southern Illinois University Edwardsville

(National Meeting of the American Musicological Society, 31 October 1998

Formal Session: ‘Shostakovich’, Paper No. 1)

Testimony, the memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich, remains one of the most controversial books in the history of music. Initially praised in the West for its insights into Shostakovich’s life and works, it was then denounced when a review by Laurel E. Fay in 1980 was believed to ‘conclusively’ demonstrate that *Testimony* was not what it purported to be. Fay’s article gained the endorsement of Richard Taruskin and Malcolm H. Brown, and for nearly two decades it appeared ‘the case was closed’. Indeed, in 1989, Taruskin concluded: ‘. . . as any proper scholar could plainly see, the book [*Testimony*] was a fraud’.

For whatever reason — complacency, a desire to cover up material to protect personal egos and professional reputations, or even incompetence — the leading American scholars of Shostakovich’s life and music have failed to report evidence that corroborates *Testimony* and vindicates Volkov: for example, (1) that the composer’s children now strongly endorse *Testimony* and praise Volkov; (2) that Shostakovich’s confidant Flora Litvinova corroborates the genesis of *Testimony* based on what the composer himself told her; (3) that former staff members of *Sovetskaya Muzyka* report knowing about the Volkov-Shostakovich meetings as they were in progress and of even reading chapters of *Testimony* as they were approved by Shostakovich; and (4) that many of the once-controversial revelations in *Testimony* now have been confirmed by Shostakovich’s family and friends and by documentary evidence. Fay, Taruskin, and Brown also have been loathe to correct statements in their own and other writers’ criticisms of *Testimony* which even they must now know are false and unjust.

The purpose of this paper, based on five years of exhaustive research involving interviews with Solomon Volkov, Galina and Maxim Shostakovich, and others ‘in the know’, as well as careful consideration of documentary materials, is to break the code of silence, correct past inaccuracies, and, in particular, address specific issues raised by Laurel E. Fay in 1980, including her questions about the Shostakovich-Volkov relationship, allegations of errors and contradictions in *Testimony*, and suggestion that Volkov plagiarized from previously published articles by the composer. Numerous concrete examples will demonstrate how the case against *Testimony* was ‘fixed’: how ‘inconvenient’ evidence was not reported, and what was reported was done so in a selective and deceptive manner.

b. Revised and Published AMS Abstract

The ‘*Testimony* Affair’: An Answer To The Critics

Allan B. Ho

Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville

(National Meeting of the American Musicological Society, 31 October 1998

Formal Session: ‘Shostakovich’, Paper No. 1)

Testimony, the memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich, remains one of the most controversial books in the history of music. Initially praised in the West for its insights into Shostakovich’s life and works, it was then denounced when a review by Laurel E. Fay in 1980 was believed to ‘conclusively’ demonstrate that *Testimony* was not what it purported to be. Fay’s review gained the endorsement of Richard Taruskin and Malcolm H. Brown, and for nearly two decades it appeared that ‘the case was closed’. Indeed, in 1989, Taruskin concluded: ‘. . . as any proper scholar could plainly see, the book [*Testimony*] was a fraud’.

The leading American scholars of Shostakovich’s life and music have failed to report evidence that corroborates *Testimony* and vindicates Volkov: for example, (1) that the composer’s children now strongly endorse *Testimony* and praise Volkov; (2) that Shostakovich’s confidant Flora Litvinova corroborates the genesis of *Testimony* based on what the composer himself told her; (3) that former staff members of *Sovetskaya Muzyka* report knowing about the Volkov-Shostakovich meetings as they were in progress and of even reading chapters of *Testimony* as they were approved by Shostakovich; and (4) that many of the once-controversial revelations in *Testimony* now have been confirmed by Shostakovich’s family and friends and by documentary evidence.

The purpose of this paper, based on five years of exhaustive research involving interviews with Solomon Volkov, Galina and Maxim Shostakovich, and others ‘in the know’, as well as careful consideration of documentary materials, is to correct past inaccuracies, and, in particular, address specific issues raised by Laurel E. Fay in 1980, including her questions about the Shostakovich-Volkov relationship, allegations of errors and contradictions in *Testimony*, and the suggestion that Volkov plagiarized from previously published articles by the composer. Numerous concrete examples will demonstrate how the case against *Testimony* was built up out of incomplete and selective presentation of evidence.

c. AMS Paper

The ‘*Testimony* Affair’: An Answer to the Critics⁷⁷⁹

Allan B. Ho

Southern Illinois University Edwardsville

(National Meeting of the American Musicological Society, 31 October 1998

Formal Session: ‘Shostakovich’, Paper No. 1)

Good evening.

Since its publication in 1979, *Testimony*, the memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich as related to and edited by Solomon Volkov, has remained one of the most controversial books in the history of music. Initially praised in the West for its insights into Shostakovich’s life and works, it was simultaneously denounced by the Soviets as a forgery besmirching the reputation of the great composer. Western opinion followed suit after the publication in 1980 of a review by Laurel Fay, which was deemed to ‘conclusively’ demonstrate that *Testimony* was not what it purported to be. Fay gained the powerful endorsement of more senior musicologists, notably Richard Taruskin and Malcolm Hamrick Brown, and for nearly two decades it appeared ‘the case was closed’. Indeed, in 1989, Taruskin wrote: ‘as any proper scholar could plainly see, the book [*Testimony*] was a fraud’.

Between 1992 and 1998, Dmitry Feofanov and I undertook a thorough investigation of the so-called ‘*Testimony* Affair’. In doing so, we discovered not only that the Shostakovich memoirs are, indeed, authentic and accurate, but that for nearly two decades the leading Western scholars of Shostakovich’s music have failed to report a wealth of evidence that corroborates *Testimony* and vindicates Volkov. For example, both David Fanning (in his book *Shostakovich Studies* [1995]) and Richard Taruskin (in a review in *MLA Notes* [December 1993]) quote from Galina Drubachevskaya’s interview with Solomon Volkov, published in *Muzykal’naya Akademiya* in 1992, yet neither of them mention that Drubachevskaya begins her article with her own testimony: that she, a fellow journalist at *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, was not only aware of the Volkov-Shostakovich meetings as they were taking place, but read chapters of the manuscript of *Testimony* as they were reviewed by Shostakovich. In our subsequent conversations with Drubachevskaya, she confirmed, without a doubt, that *Testimony* is authentic.

As another example, Elizabeth Wilson commissioned Flora Litvinova, a longtime confidant of Shostakovich, to write reminiscences of the composer. Excerpts from Litvinova’s material were included in Wilson’s book *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*. The following, however, was omitted, in which Litvinova quotes what Shostakovich himself told her in the last years of his life:

You know, Flora, I met a wonderful young man — a Leningrad musicologist [Volkov]. This young man knows my music better than I do. Somewhere, he dug everything up, even my juvenilia. We now meet

⁷⁷⁹ For thorough documentation of the points presented in this paper, cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 22–311.

constantly, and I tell him *everything* I remember about my works and myself. He writes it down, and at a subsequent meeting I look it over.

This statement corroborates what Volkov has always stated about the genesis of *Testimony*. When asked why she did not print this passage, Wilson provided three reasons:

(1) that there was no room to include these five lines of text in her 550-page book;

(2) that this material was ‘irrelevant to her main subject’; and

(3) that she ‘didn’t want to get too involved in the vexed question about the authenticity of Volkov’s *Testimony*’.

The statements of people who knew Shostakovich personally and over a long period of time can shed valuable light on the accuracy and authenticity of *Testimony*. For example, Galina Shostakovich, the composer’s daughter, states:

I am an admirer of Volkov. There is nothing false there [in *Testimony*]. Definitely the style of speech is Shostakovich’s — not only the choice of words, but also the way they are put together.

Similarly, Maxim Shostakovich, the composer’s son, has not only ‘vouched for the authenticity’ of the generous selection of excerpts from *Testimony* reprinted in Josiah Fisk’s book *Composers on Music*, but now confirms that his father told him about ‘meeting a young man from Leningrad [Volkov] who knows his music extremely well’, that ‘Volkov did meet with Shostakovich to work on his reminiscences’, that his sister Galina ‘got it right’ in her statement, that he ‘maintains good relations with Volkov’, and that contrary to what some people may think, ‘I am a supporter both of *Testimony* and of Volkov’.

Inexplicably, some scholars have dismissed such statements out of hand. In 1994, when Malcolm Brown was alerted to the fact that Maxim and others had begun endorsing *Testimony*, he responded in writing: ‘It doesn’t really matter how many ex-Soviets believe that *Testimony* is “essentially accurate”’. He goes on to say: ‘It makes ordinary common sense not to trust someone you know to be a liar, and that’s what we know Solomon Volkov to be’. (I will address this oft-repeated charge that Volkov is ‘a liar’ later in my paper.) Similarly, when asked at the 1995 national meeting of the AMS if she had consulted with the composer’s friends and family while researching her own forthcoming book on Shostakovich, Laurel Fay responded: no, because ‘I didn’t want to become compromised by having them tell me their stories and then being obliged somehow to retell them’. This is a most peculiar research methodology in dealing with a topic, Shostakovich, about which there are still so many living witnesses.

Other statements by *Testimony*’s critics raise serious questions about how thoroughly they have investigated the matter. At the 1997 Midwest meeting of the AMS

and in the internet discussion that followed, Malcolm Brown made thirteen assertions that in *DSCH Journal* 8 and 9 we demonstrate to be misrepresentations of the facts. I will mention just two revealing examples. Professor Brown claimed that Shostakovich's inscriptions in *Testimony* are abbreviated 'DSCH', only two letters in Russian, making authentication difficult. I will show you now all eight of these inscriptions, so that there is no doubt that Professor Brown's claim is *false*. Professor Brown now says that he was merely passing on information received from Henry Orlov. However, the question remains, if 99% of the people who have commented on these inscriptions say that they read 'Chital [Read]. D. Shostakovich', why did Professor Brown choose to report Orlov's statement, the only one that would portray Solomon Volkov as a 'liar'. Professor Brown has had 20 years to check his facts. He has not.

Professor Brown further claimed that these inscriptions have not been available for inspection. This too is *false*. One of these has been in print since 1979 and could have been located by Professor Brown had he looked in *The Music Index*; indeed, had he looked in this basic reference, he could have found an entire signed page of the manuscript. Moreover, all eight of the inscriptions were reproduced some ten years ago in both the German and Finnish editions of *Testimony*. Professor Brown, in *DSCH Journal* 9, attempted to excuse his lack of familiarity with this material by stating that these books are not at Indiana University. Is this the limit of scholarship, that if a book is not in one's own university library, one is not obligated to read it? Professor Brown could have done what I did: contact a musicologist in Finland or Germany and request a photocopy. It took about two weeks to receive this material; Professor Brown has had ten years! It is also most peculiar that Professor Brown did not know about the Finnish edition of *Testimony* since, just a few years after it was published, he met personally, in Bloomington, Indiana, with the Finnish translator, Seppo Heikinheimo, the very person who reproduced all eight of the inscriptions. Why didn't Professor Brown ask Seppo Heikinheimo, 'Are the signatures abbreviated?' Brown also contacted the English translator of *Testimony*, Antonina W. Bouis. He could have posed the same question to her. He did not.

In the time remaining, I would like to provide other specific examples of how the case against *Testimony* has been built upon selective editing, misleading paraphrase, and a lack of perspective. In doing so, I will focus on Laurel Fay's 1980 review, which began the debate in the West over *Testimony's* authenticity.

Fay begins her review by mentioning 'Pitiful Forgery', a letter of denunciation published on November 14, 1979 in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, in which six former students and acquaintances of Shostakovich stated that they did not believe *Testimony* to be the composer's memoirs. While this document does exist, to maintain proper perspective it is important to know what Fay has not mentioned:

- (1) that letters of denunciation were a common practice in the USSR and that the signatories rarely (if ever) got a chance to read that which they were denouncing since, for state purposes, their personal opinions were irrelevant;

(2) that it is highly unlikely that the six signatories of ‘Pitiful Forgery’ had access to *Testimony* before they denounced it, since even the Shostakovich family itself did not have the ‘banned’ book;

(3) that most, if not all, of the six signatories were not fluent enough in English [or German — Eds.] in 1979 to have read the book for themselves (something that we verified);

(4) that three of the six signatories later came forward to explain why they signed ‘Pitiful Forgery’, and it was for reasons other than that *Testimony* might be a forgery;⁷⁸⁰

(5) that other prominent figures in Soviet music were approached to sign the letter of denunciation and refused. These include Boris Chaikovsky, Rodion Shchedrin, Georgy Sviridov, and Galina Ustvolskaya, who were students and colleagues of Shostakovich;

(6) that many times more people have come forward to endorse *Testimony*, including both of Shostakovich’s children, Vladimir Ashkenazy, Rudolf Barshai, Semyon Bychkov, Emil Gilels, Mariss Jansons, Giya Kancheli, Kirill Kondrashin, Gidon Kremer, Lev Lebedinsky, Mark Lubotsky, Leo Mazel’, Il’ya Musin, Sviatoslav Richter, Kurt Sanderling, Rodion Shchedrin, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, and Daniil Zhitomirsky. Add to these well-respected musicologists such as Boris Schwarz, who despite Fay’s reservations, still found *Testimony* ‘very persuasive’ as the memoirs of Shostakovich; Gerald Abraham, who began by doubting *Testimony*, but after consulting ‘a reliable source’ in the Soviet Union, proclaimed it authentic; and Detlef Gojowy, who also initially doubted *Testimony*, but in 1993 acknowledged: ‘the book by Solomon Volkov was already considered an authentic document without any reservation during the last years of the Soviet system. The legend that circulated earlier, insinuating that the book was a falsification, was completely disposed of and is at the most still disturbing some Western minds’.⁷⁸¹

In her review, Fay also questions the closeness of the Volkov-Shostakovich relationship by questioning what Volkov says about his 1968 production of *Rothschild’s Violin*, an opera begun by Shostakovich’s student Veniamin Fleishman and completed by

⁷⁸⁰ Cf. *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, pp. 64 note 61; 66 note 71; 69 note 84; and 504.

⁷⁸¹ One may add to this illustrious list the late Finnish composer Pehr Henrik Nordgren (1944–2008), who not only wrote his musicology M. A. thesis on Shostakovich’s orchestration (University of Helsinki, 1967), but, after reading the English edition of *Testimony*, became probably the first person to compose a large-scale work under its influence: his Viola Concerto No. 2, the last movement of which is titled ‘Testimony’ and dedicated ‘to the memory of the great Shostakovich’. In Heikinheimo’s ‘Uusi konsertto Nordgrenilta’ (‘A New Concerto from Nordgren’), *Helsingin Sanomat*, 6 December 1979, Nordgren states: ‘For me the authenticity of the memoirs is unquestionable because, if you know the final works of Shostakovich, the correspondence of moods is completely perfect’.

Shostakovich when Fleishman was killed in the Second World War. Fay states that ‘Volkov strongly implies that this [1968 production, which brought him closer to Shostakovich] was the *first* and *only* performance of the work’, and then proceeds to prove him wrong, in effect a ‘liar’, by citing a performance at the Composers’ Union in 1960 and on radio in 1962. What is important to notice, however, is that Fay has misparaphrased Volkov’s words. Volkov never says that his production was the first and only performance. He says, *four times*, that the significance of his production was that it was *staged*. Here is the passage in question:

I decided that *Rothschild’s Violin* had to be *staged*. [. . . In Leningrad, April 1968, a] marvelous opera was born *onstage* [. . .] Then the official administrators of culture accused all of us of Zionism: [. . .] Their resolution read: ‘The *staging* of the opera pours water on the enemy’s mill’ — and it meant an irreversible closing of the production. [. . . T]he opera was never *staged* again.

Clearly, staging an opera and performing it in concert and on radio are not the same thing. Volkov’s statement is true. Fay’s is *false*.

Laurel Fay next points to ‘contradictions’ in *Testimony* itself. On page 154, Shostakovich states:

I wrote my Seventh Symphony, the ‘Leningrad’, very quickly. I couldn’t not write it. War was all around. I had to be with the people, I wanted to create the image of our country at war, capture it in music. From the first days of the war, I sat down at the piano and started work.

Fay quotes this passage, then emphasizes that ‘*Less than one page* after he tells us “From the first days of the war” we read the following’:

The Seventh Symphony had been planned before the war and consequently it simply cannot be seen as a reaction to Hitler’s attack. The ‘invasion theme’ has nothing to do with the attack. I was thinking of other enemies of humanity [in particular, Stalin] when I composed the theme.

‘Which are we to believe?’ Fay asks. Is the Seventh Symphony about Stalin or the Nazis?

Here Fay distorts Shostakovich’s statement, equating ‘writing’ the Seventh Symphony with ‘planning’ it. Shostakovich states that he *wrote* the Seventh Symphony when war was all around, but *planned* it before the war. This was typical of Shostakovich’s composing habits (‘I think long, I write fast’ he often said), and is even mentioned between the two passages quoted by Fay:

I do write quickly, it’s true, but I think about my music for a comparatively long time, and until it’s complete in my head I don’t begin setting it down.

In omitting this sentence, Fay has made something typical of Shostakovich appear contradictory and suspicious.

Fay also has not mentioned that evidence exists to corroborate what is stated in *Testimony*: that Shostakovich had begun planning the Seventh Symphony as early as 1939, two years before the Nazi invasion on June 22, 1941, and that the invasion theme was not ‘simply’ about the Nazis, but ‘about other enemies of humanity’. For example:

(1) that Maxim Shostakovich concurs that ‘the time preceding the war was probably the inspiration of Symphony No. 7, the tragedy of a nation. There were negative evil forces — in Germany and in the USSR; the USSR had its own fascism and its own “Hitler”. The Seventh Symphony is *not* just military’;

(2) that close friends such as Lev Lebedinsky recall Shostakovich originally referring to the ‘invasion theme’ as the ‘Stalin theme’;

(3) that Flora Litvinova, in contemporaneous notes, recorded what Shostakovich himself told her about the Seventh Symphony: that it was ‘not just about fascism, but also about our system’;

(4) that in May 1941, a month before the Nazi invasion, Yuly Vainkop reported that Shostakovich had been working on the Seventh Symphony even before his re-orchestration of *Boris Godunov*, which was completed in 1940;

(5) that before the Nazi invasion, the Seventh Symphony was already listed in the Leningrad Philharmonic’s programs for the 1941–42 season; and

(6) that Aleksandr Sherel’ claims to have discovered a sketch of the ‘invasion theme’ dated June 26, 1939.⁷⁸²

Finally, Fay makes much of the fact that within its 276 pages, *Testimony* includes eight passages (some 2000 words total) that are verbatim or near-verbatim recyclings from other articles by Shostakovich. Fay states that it is ‘utterly inconceivable’ that Shostakovich could have repeated himself in his meetings with Volkov. However, she provides no proof that Shostakovich could not or would not repeat himself, while failing to mention pertinent evidence to the contrary. In particular, she does not mention Shostakovich’s ‘superior memory’, which his friends and family attest allowed him to engage in this very type of verbatim recall, to their constant amazement. For example, without preparation, he could recite lengthy texts, paragraph by paragraph, as friends followed with the book in hand; without preparation, he could play on the piano

⁷⁸² Cf. pp. 134–38 above for still more evidence supporting a pre-war dating of the Seventh Symphony.

individual string parts of Beethoven's *Die Grosse fuge*, perfectly, from beginning to end; without preparation, he could sing and play on the piano all of Wagner's *Ring Cycle*.

Fay's claim that Shostakovich could not have repeated passages from his earlier published texts — passages of great importance to him — has not only never been proven but has been rejected by leading psychologists familiar with people, such as Shostakovich, with 'superior memory'. Professor Elizabeth A. Loftus (University of Washington), president of the American Psychological Society and an expert witness often called upon to testify in court cases, examined all eight of the recycled passages, as translated by Malcolm Hamrick Brown, and then rejected Fay's assertion. In doing so, she joined Professors Elizabeth Valentine (University of London), co-author of the study *Superior Memory* (1997), Roddy Roediger (Washington University), Andreas Lehmann (Florida State University), Ulric Neisser (Cornell University), the author of *Memory Observed* (1982), and Ian Hunter (University of Keele), who for thirty years studied a subject, Alexander Aitken, whose feats of memory closely resemble those of Shostakovich. When asked specifically about the possibility of Shostakovich repeating, verbatim or near verbatim, the eight passages challenged by Fay, Professor Hunter replied:

Volkov's claims do not strike me as outlandish under the circumstances. Assume that Shostakovich was deeply interested in his own biographical development and that he pieced together a coherent account of that development with appropriate structure and wording; given his interest and intellectual abilities, it is not at all unlikely that he would produce much the same narrative, even years apart. The argument of "beyond belief" doesn't cut much ice in itself when dealing with very superior minds.

Professor Neisser concurs:

I see no reason to doubt that Shostakovich produced all that text verbatim. It is something that Aitken could also have done. Verbatim memory is not all that hard if one has the motivation and opportunity to rehearse, as Shostakovich evidently did. And I'm impressed by the record of his other memory feats, some of which seem far more impressive than remembering some passages from one's own autobiography.

Given his superior memory, it is hardly surprising that Shostakovich might recycle some of his words in *Testimony*. Indeed, many of you may also have repeated portions of your own written texts when asked to speak on the very same topic, or may have recycled some of your own words when expanding individual articles into a booklength study. The fact is, once something became fixed in Shostakovich's mind, especially after it had been written down, the composer could and often would repeat himself, verbatim or near verbatim.

In *Shostakovich Reconsidered* we devote 28 pages to answering Fay's suggestion that Volkov plagiarized from previously published articles by Shostakovich. Suffice it to

say here that the experts we consulted found our arguments against plagiarism ‘good’, ‘persuasive’, and ‘compelling’. Even longstanding critics of *Testimony* have now revised their opinions. Stephen Johnson concludes that ‘What *Shostakovich Reconsidered* sets up, without much doubt, is Solomon Volkov’s essential probity — that he’s done what he’s done honourably’. And David Fanning, in a review of our book, states that for now, at least, he ‘will be putting references to Volkov’s dishonesty on ice’.

I have now presented you with numerous specific examples of selective editing, misleading paraphrase, and lack of perspective in the case against *Testimony* and Volkov. Many more examples are documented in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*. Therefore, I would urge you to read our book and will conclude merely by juxtaposing the comments of *Testimony*’s critics with our own position. Malcolm Hamrick Brown states, ‘It doesn’t really matter how many ex-Soviets [including both of the composer’s children] believe that *Testimony* is “essentially accurate”’. Laurel Fay states that she didn’t speak with the friends and family of Shostakovich because she, the researcher, ‘didn’t want to be compromised’. And Richard Taruskin states that if you believe *Testimony* to be authentic, you are not a ‘proper scholar’.

In contrast, I do not ask that you believe anything just because I say it, nor do I ask that you accept my conclusion that *Testimony* is authentic and accurate. What I ask is that you investigate the matter for yourselves, speak to the friends and family of Shostakovich, dig into the archives and letters, listen to and study the music, consider all of the evidence, and then make your own informed decision on *Testimony*. As scholars, we have an obligation to stand up for academic integrity: that is, thorough investigation, followed by full disclosure of the facts, in proper context and in timely fashion. That is what we attempted to do in our book *Shostakovich Reconsidered*; that is what I have attempted to do this evening.

Thank you.

d. Allan Ho's Response to David Fanning's Reply⁷⁸³

(National Meeting of the American Musicological Society, 31 October 1998
Formal Session: 'Shostakovich', Paper No. 1)

I would like to thank Professor Fanning for taking time from his busy schedule to respond to our papers. I must admit, however, my disappointment that he will not address the specific questions I raised about Fay, Taruskin, and Brown's research methodology and positions on *Testimony*. Professor Fanning was well aware from my abstract that that was to be the focus of my paper. Therefore, I wonder why, if he could not speak for them, he agreed to be the official respondent. I also wonder why Fay, Taruskin, and Brown, who were invited by Professor Shreffler to be official respondents, all declined.

I agree with Professor Fanning that we should take into consideration the backgrounds and motivations of people who have written or commented about Shostakovich. Indeed, that is exactly why I am surprised that Laurel Fay and Malcolm Brown never questioned 'Pitiful Forgery', the letter of denunciation printed 18 years ago in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, that they cite as evidence against *Testimony* (Malcolm Brown as recently as February 1996). When asked about this material at the AMS Midwest meeting in October 1997, Professor Brown said he saw no reason to question 'Pitiful Forgery'. I ask, how many of you would accept, without question or qualification, a letter of denunciation printed in the Soviet press? How many of you believe, as Professor Brown apparently does, that there was a free, objective, and accurate press in the USSR in 1979? I submit to you that it *does* matter that the signatories of this denunciation didn't have the book before they denounced it, were not fluent enough in English to have read the book had they had it, and that half of them later explained why they signed the letter, and it was for reasons other than that *Testimony* might be a forgery.

Professor Fanning suggests that Dmitry and I have viewed things with a 'black-and-white, either/or mentality'. That is false. All that we are calling for is consideration of all of the evidence, which will lead to the conclusion that *Testimony* is authentic and accurate. In fact, it is Fay and others who want to 'throw the baby out with the bathwater'. They claim that if questions have been raised about eight recycled passages in *Testimony*, then these memoirs are of little value to the scholar. Indeed, Laurel Fay has admitted wishing that *Testimony* would 'go away', has characterized it as 'nothing more than a nuisance to her own research', and usually ignores it in her writings. Things don't get any more black-and-white than that.

Professor Fanning 'fails to see how Galina Drubachevskaya's reading of chapters of the manuscript reviewed by Shostakovich "vindicates Volkov"'. Simple. A charge made early on, and still posted on the Net, was that *Testimony* had been fabricated by Volkov after he came to the United States. Indeed, Fay herself, in her 1980 review, found something suspicious in the fact that *Testimony* was not printed until three years after Volkov emigrated: was he still writing it after he emigrated, she wonders. Drubachevskaya's testimony demolishes that allegation. Furthermore, Volkov has always claimed that people at *Sovetskaya Muzyka* knew all about *Testimony* as it was in

⁷⁸³ A revised version of Fanning's reply to Allan Ho's and Dmitry Feofanov's AMS papers, which elicited the response above at the same meeting, is included in *A Shostakovich Casebook*, pp. 269–82.

progress. We have now confirmed this not only through Drubachevskaya's statement, but with a statement from Yury Korev, the editor-in-chief of *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, and even a memorandum from the Central Committee Archives in which Shostakovich's widow (on 22 November 1978) said exactly the same thing.

Professor Fanning states that 'Western opinion on *Testimony* has never been a monolithic thing; and in so far as there has been a majority view I'd have thought it was largely pro'. This is false.⁷⁸⁴ The majority of articles about *Testimony* from 1980 forward have continued to question its authenticity. Indeed, David Fanning, in his own book *Shostakovich Studies* (1995), speaks of Volkov's 'dishonesty about the provenance of the book' and describes *Testimony* as 'that arch-revisionist document', 'a curious mixture of rumour, fact, and slanted reminiscence'; similarly, Richard Taruskin, also in Fanning's book, portrays *Testimony* as 'Volkov [not Shostakovich, but Volkov] speaking through his little puppet Mitya'. Are these statements really 'pro-*Testimony*', Professor Fanning? That David Fanning should now put his own references to Volkov's alleged dishonesty 'on ice' is a significant change, indeed. David Fanning further claims that 'he has found the objections Laurel Fay raised in 1980 to be virtually unknown outside academic circles'. Has he not read the numerous articles, liner notes, program notes, and postings on user groups critical of *Testimony* and Volkov as a result of Fay's review? Has he never surfed the Net, where one easily finds a site, again based on Fay's research, titled 'How Volkov faked *Testimony*'?

Professor Fanning still has doubts about the recycled texts that appear at the beginnings of chapters. I will leave it to each of you to examine our book, available at the Scholar's Choice booth, and make your own decision. Suffice it to say that just about every reviewer of *Shostakovich Reconsidered* has found our case admirable, compelling, and convincing, and has concluded that *Testimony* is authentic. Fanning also states: 'I personally wouldn't mind if it did transpire that Volkov was responsible for adding those passages, with or without the composer's agreement. [. . .] But if that was the case, I just wish he'd be frank about it'. Such an admission by Volkov certainly would have made our job much easier, and we queried him repeatedly about this. Indeed, we often posed the same questions years apart to be sure his answers were consistent. They were. As much as David Fanning may wish it, Solomon Volkov *will not admit something that did not happen*. He says that he did not use any secondary sources, that everything came from Shostakovich's mouth. He says this because to say otherwise would, he maintains, be simply and squarely untrue. As for Volkov's shorthand notes, these were left in the USSR, in the care of his mother-in-law, when Volkov and his wife emigrated in 1976. Obviously, with the KGB snooping for any trace of *Testimony*, carrying such notes with them could have been hazardous to their health. After his mother-in-law passed away, Volkov attempted to track down his notes, but without success. He did learn, however, that his mother-in-law had been 'invited to testify' to the KGB. Conceivably, the notes now are in the KGB archives; perhaps, in bearing out *Testimony* to the letter, they were destroyed.

⁷⁸⁴ Especially in the USA and United Kingdom. In other countries, such as Finland, France, Germany, Italy, and Sweden, where the influence of anti-revisionists such as Fay, Taruskin, and Brown is less pronounced, a more positive view of *Testimony* is apparent.

Finally, David Fanning and others have tried to persuade you that Shostakovich could not or would not have recycled his earlier published texts. In fact, leading psychologists have stated, for the record, just the opposite, taking into consideration Shostakovich's superior memory. Again, ask yourselves, have you ever recycled passages from your own printed texts when asked to give a talk on the very same topic? Have you ever recycled your own words when turning individual articles into a booklength study? As I see it, Professor Fanning has shown that the words in his extract are authentic Shostakovich. He has not shown that the other pages in *Testimony* are not authentic Shostakovich. Again, consider all of the evidence and judge for yourselves. That is all that we ask.

6. International Acclaim for *Shostakovich Reconsidered*

This book settles the issue once and for all. I am sure that no one in his sane mind, having read the evidence presented by the authors, will ever ask the question of whether *Testimony* is authentic Shostakovich or not. The answer is that it most definitely is.

—Vladimir Ashkenazy

‘Reply to an *Unjust Criticism*’ [in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*] sheds valuable new light not only on the authenticity of Shostakovich’s memoirs, but also on the efforts of Soviet and some Western sources to mute the truth. Adopting the format of a trial, Ho and Feofanov weigh the evidence and persuasively refute earlier claims that *Testimony* is inaccurate and a forgery. Their arguments are amply supported, sources are thoroughly documented and text is engagingly written for musician and non-musician alike. What makes ‘Reply’ unique among Shostakovich studies is that it provides detailed answers to the many criticisms leveled at *Testimony* and its editor, Solomon Volkov, during the past seventeen years. At the same time, it raises disturbing new questions about the integrity, expertise and motivations of the critics of these memoirs, who, contrary to the evidence, continue to besmirch Shostakovich as ‘perhaps Soviet Russia’s most loyal musical son’.

—Judge Alex Kozinski

Congratulations on, and good luck to, the book — full of fascinating material. I never doubted that *Testimony* was authentic. I am not up in the musical side. But as for idiocy and misrepresentation, Western academic professional historical circles are hard to beat.

—Robert Conquest

Essential, indispensable, profoundly illuminating, magnificent, superbly documented [. . . *Shostakovich Reconsidered*] is a very important book. While I personally felt from the moment it was published that *Testimony* was true to the Shostakovich I already knew through his music, every aspect of the vituperation to which Solomon Volkov’s volume has been subjected in the intervening years has been comprehensively and impartially examined and refuted by Allan Ho’s and Dmitry Feofanov’s impressive new book. Not only has Volkov been completely exonerated as an honest transcriber; but the Shostakovich whom Shostakovich wished us to know comes more vividly alive than ever through these pages.

—Christopher Lyndon-Gee

I have read ‘Reply to an *Unjust Criticism*’ and find it admirable, convincing and totally solid in its approach and reasoning. It is riveting reading and reveals human nature in the whole span of the worst and the best and how they fit into each other and how in a certain way the one provokes the other and may even be dependent on each other. It is a wonderful guide to Shostakovich’s music.

—Sir Yehudi Menuhin

Let me congratulate you [Mr. Feofanov] and Mr. Ho on a job well done. When *Testimony* first appeared I had no doubt at all about its authenticity, and I followed the book’s detractors with growing amazement. Didn’t they know *anything* about the years of terror for the Soviet intelligentsia? Or perhaps some of the critics were opportunists

seeking to make a big splash? In any case, your book should settle the matter once and for all.

—Harold C. Schonberg

Shostakovich Reconsidered is a collection of articles, essays and interviews — with the composer’s son, Maxim, and Mstislav Rostropovich, among others — compiled, written and edited by Allan B. Ho and Dmitry Feofanov. The main thrust of the book is to prove that Shostakovich did write *Testimony* in collaboration with Solomon Volkov. There are those who believe the memoir to be a fake, and that the composer was a Soviet stooge. It is clear from his chamber music alone that he was nothing of the sort. There is an impassioned Overture from Vladimir Ashkenazy, condemning the doubters who cannot hear anguish when it is hitting them.

—Paul Bailey, *The Daily Telegraph*

It’s a marvellous book. It’s a book about suffering, of course. Shostakovich’s suffering is over, and Volkov’s suffering is over, but I suspect that Professor Taruskin’s suffering is just beginning.

—Anthony Briggs, *BBC Radio, ‘Music Matters’*

This huge uneven book [a candidate for International Book of the Year] took me months to read, even omitting the professionally musicological parts. But this is only to say that, to some extent, its themes can be taken seriatim. A fine preface by Vladimir Ashkenazy is followed by an exhaustive demolition of the arguments against Solomon Volkov’s ‘Memoirs of Dmitry Shostakovich’. A steam hammer to crush a bug, you may say, but much emerges, as it does later, on the particular horror of the composer’s experience. Elsewhere, the book pursues the theme of if, and how, the actual music can be interpreted in terms of rebellion. Hard enough, even with literature; but I found the arguments fascinating.

—Robert Conquest, *The Times Literary Supplement*

This is a wonderful book, packed with anecdotes, insights, and information about one of the major enigmas of our time. [. . .] Although familiarity with *Testimony* clearly assists appreciation, (I hesitate to use the term enjoyment about anything so harrowing), *Shostakovich Reconsidered* provides an experience which can be illuminating on a number of different levels. It is a work of enormous scholarship, packed with a host of references from other books and articles, which must surely be of considerable interest to both historians, musical commentators and musicologists whatever their political persuasions. Then again, on a much less informed level, [. . .] this book provides a multitude of insights into the underlying motives and messages which previously may only have been sensed even if not understood.

[. . .] regardless of your level of musical appreciation you will find *Shostakovich Reconsidered* approachable, fascinating, and illuminating, containing as it does such a wealth of facts, anecdotes and observations, not all of them necessarily flattering, about one of the most notable musical figures of our, or indeed any, century.

—David Dyer, *Classical Music on the Web*

This intriguing book tackles one of the hottest musico-political controversies of the past 20 years: a web of alleged deceit involving musical masterworks, top-of-the-range academic reputations and cold-war politics. Was *Testimony*, purportedly the

authorised memoir of a great Soviet composer, Dmitri Shostakovich, ‘as related to and edited by Solomon Volkov’, a fake?

[. . .] Some western musicologists accused Mr Volkov of rewriting parts of *Testimony* from press cuttings, of tricking Shostakovich into signing the first page of each chapter and of getting his wife to put him in the front row at Shostakovich’s funeral for a photograph. Most seriously, Shostakovich’s political disavowals in *Testimony* were challenged.

Now the author-editors of *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, a useful collection of essays and documents, have mounted a forensic rebuttal of all these charges against the Volkov book (Dimitry Feofanov is both a musician and a lawyer). Despite the book’s relentless courtroom tone, a good case is made out, built on Russian sources.

—*The Economist*

[Ho and Feofanov’s defense of *Testimony* is] couched deliberately in courtroom terms, cross-examining and painstakingly discrediting objections one by one. This is so thoroughly done it surely puts the onus on *Testimony*’s detractors to return to the stand [. . . I] will be putting references to Volkov’s dishonesty on ice until that happens. [. . .] By all means read their book and enjoy the frisson of its TV-courtroom-drama-style presentation.

—*David Fanning, BBC Music Magazine*

I would urge you to buy the book, which is a gripping read.

—*Ivan Hewitt, BBC Radio, ‘Music Matters’*

It’s very rare to come across a book that’s so readable. [. . .] What it does set up, without much doubt, is Solomon Volkov’s essential probity — that he’s done what he’s done honourably. I think he comes out of this very well all round, I have to say.

—*Stephen Johnson, BBC Radio, ‘Music Matters’*

[. . .] the variety of opinions and styles is one of the things that make this thick volume so readable. In their 300 page defence of *Testimony*, Ho and Feofanov adopt something close to a courtroom style, which holds the attention to the end, and makes the case for the memoirs seem virtually unassailable. [. . .] Read *Shostakovich Reconsidered* by all means; marvel at its breadth of reference, the force of the writing, and ultimately at the power of this music to stir up such intensity of feeling, such aggression.

—*Stephen Johnson, The Times Literary Supplement*

Ashkenazy has contributed the introduction to a retaliatory missile by Allan B. Ho and Dimitry Feofanov, titled *Shostakovich Reconsidered* and published this week by Toccata Press. Bulky but absorbing, this devastating counter-attack exposes levels of academic self-delusion that might be condonable under North Korean water torture but seem a tad contorted in the cathedra of Ivy League colleges and the columns of the *New Grove Dictionary*.

—*Norman Lebrecht, The Daily Telegraph*

Verbal spats in the musicological world rarely leave the sheltered confines of an academic conference hall, but the one which is this book's subject has been a very public and rancorous affair for many years. It started in the late 1970s after the publication of Shostakovich's memoirs, *Testimony*, as edited by the Russian scholar Solomon Volkov. Denounced at the time as fraudulent by the Soviet authorities, and by members of Shostakovich's family, for portraying the composer as an embittered dissident, *Testimony* also came under attack from some Western musicologists who questioned the book's authenticity. Many Russian colleagues who knew Shostakovich personally have since modified their opinions considerably and now subscribe to the view that *Testimony* represents a largely accurate portrayal of the composer's outlook. But a few prominent Western musicologists including Richard Taruskin and Laurel Fay have remained sceptical and continue to challenge the veracity of *Testimony*.

Constructing their onslaught against these 'specialists' in the form of a trial, with chapters ingeniously entitled Opening Statement, Cross-Examination, the Case for the Defence and a Closing Argument, Allan B Ho and Dmitri Feofanov unveil anecdotal and documentary evidence to try and discredit such opinions. In disclosing their case, they reproduce the views of the composer's son, Rostropovich, Shchedrin and Ashkenazy, and include chapters by *Classic CD's* Ian MacDonald whose book *The New Shostakovich* has aroused such irrational hostility from certain academics.

The level of vitriol and indignation raised by this issue makes for engrossing reading [. . .].
—Erik Levi, *Classic CD*

The book, organised like a court case where the memoirs stand on trial, is extremely easy to read, set in a language that is readily understood by those who are invited to act as jury. The footnotes and cross references are thorough to the point of providing substantial commentary on the side, allowing one to follow the logic of the cross examination and defence. There is extensive rebuttal of the studies of the anti-revisionists that leaves the misleading claims of these scholars bare to ridicule, warranted as they are by such preposterous papers such as Laurel Fay's on Shostakovich's song-cycle *From Jewish Folk Poetry*. In short it is ruthless, but deservedly so in light of such published scholastic deceptions that revolve around selective representation and deliberate misinterpretation of material, dependency on outdated material and on splitting hairs with Volkov and MacDonald.

The climax of this intensive trial and the ultimate test of the strength of this book lies in the treatment of *Testimony's* biggest riddle: the 8 passages from the memoirs allegedly plagiarised from near-identical sources previously published in the Soviet Union. While at first encounter this evidence looks to be Volkov's undoing, Ho and Feofanov in masterly fashion make a convincing case for the composer's well-documented capacity for self-quotation. Backed by well-rounded in-depth research, it is the centrepiece of an exhaustive defence that will leave little doubt in the readers' minds of the authenticity of *Testimony* and the portrait within. [. . .]

Shostakovich Reconsidered thus acts like a ray of sunshine through the stormy clouds of these past decades of controversy over who the real Shostakovich was. More than just closing the case on *Testimony*, as one must after going through the book, it provides the much needed all-round perspective of a composer who was not only a

commentator and a critic of his times, but also a sharp and colourful satirist whose outlook on life and music far exceeded what we thought we knew of him.

—C. H. Loh, *The Sun*, KL (Malaysia)

Arguments for and against Volkov's authenticity (but overwhelmingly in his favor) have been masterfully assembled in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, written and edited by Allan B. Ho and Dmitri Feofanov, encompassing the work of many authorities and published in London by the Toccata Press. This book is essential reading for anyone interested in Shostakovich.

—Joseph McLellan, *The Washington Post*

Don't be afraid of picking up this book — even if you know little or nothing about the music of Dmitri Shostakovich. It is very informative and does not fall into the trap, so commonplace in similar 'academic' writings, of either patronising the reader, or indeed of blinding him with musicological science. The arguments are clearly presented and well-documented — *Shostakovich Reconsidered* should prove to be a valuable companion to any music lover's bookshelf.

—Jean Méсан, *Musique en Suisse*

It has taken nearly 20 years of close collaboration for Allan B. Ho, also a musicologist, and Dmitry Feofanov, a music-loving bilingual attorney, to accumulate the formidable wealth of data that jumpacks the 787 pages of their new book *Shostakovich Reconsidered* (Toccata Press, London; with an 'overture' by Vladimir Ashkenazy). They energetically set out to do to Brown, Fay, & Taruskin what a sledge-hammer customarily does to a tent-stake. They conclude by issuing not only Shostakovich but also Solomon Volkov — who has for years suffered in dignified silence — an unconditionally clean bill of political, ethical, and moral health. [. . .] Rarely have musicologists — ordinarily rather mild-mannered denizens of the groves of Academe — come in for such an all-out demolition job as is delivered by this book.

—Paul Moor, *The American Record Guide*

The 'Terrible Trio' — namely Fay, Brown and Taruskin (but not necessarily in that order) are about to have the wind taken out of their academic sails, are about to see their respective ivory towers crumble to nought: but above all are about to acquiesce — Volkov wasn't at all a 'liar' and what's more he and Shostakovich *did* indeed meet more than three times over a glass or two of *kvas*, and that all those unpleasant things about Prokofiev and others might well have come from Dmitri Dmitrievich's own lips.

[. . .] One thing is crystal clear: [*Shostakovich Reconsidered*] will be one of those 'indispensable' books on your shelf — like *Testimony*, like *Shostakovich Remembered* (by Elizabeth Wilson) and *Lettres à un Ami* (Glikman, in French) and Derek Hulme's *Second Catalogue*.

In this Trial by Jury, only one course of action is possible, Ladies and Gentlemen — read Ho and Feofanov's determined tome, it *will* add to your perception of the Shostakovich debate and may well lead to a moral, if not a circumstantial acquittal.

—Nigel Papworth, *DSCH Journal*

For 20 years the composer's memoirs, *Testimony*, have been attacked as fraudulent, and the composer maligned as a man who gave in to Soviet pressure and

compromised his art. The present authors wish to defend Shostakovich's reputation, conducting, in an entertaining trial format, a passionate defence of the book. There are also numerous other musicological and cultural essays — a splendid celebration of this sublime musician.
—*Stephen Poole, The Guardian*

From the moment the memoirs appeared in the West (they have yet to be published in Russian), they have been violently attacked and vigorously defended, dismissed as a forgery and hailed as a revelation. Now, with the opening of some Soviet archives and the accumulated testimony of those who knew the composer, the debate has reopened with a vengeance, most strikingly with the publication of *Shostakovich Reconsidered* (Tocatta Press), by an American musicologist, Allan B. Ho, and an émigré pianist and lawyer, Dmitry Feofanov. The two take up arms against those who have questioned the authenticity of the memoirs, calling *Testimony*, which has appeared in more than a dozen languages, 'one of the most important and influential books in the history of music'.
—*Edward Rothstein, The New York Times*

There are just *too* many people who knew the composer, shared sometimes drunken conversation with him, and who have sufficiently little of an axe to grind, who believe the book genuine. [. . .] Taking all such indicators together [the evidence presented in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*], I think it is fair to conclude that *Testimony* is authentic as an expression of the composer's views and should probably also be thought of as verbatim.
—*John Shand, Tempo*

Is there still someone in Finland suspecting that Solomon Volkov, editor of 'The Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich', distorted the words of the composer? Suspicions can now be discarded. Allan Ho and Dmitri Feofanov testify in their new book called *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, with an immense torrent of facts, that the memoirs are, in all essential parts, discourse which the composer had partly related to people other than Volkov, too.

[. . .] One almost feels sorry for the scholars who mocked Volkov — such as Malcolm Brown, Richard Taruskin, and Laurel Fay. Ho and Feofanov show with direct quotations that these scholars, opponents of Volkov, separated sentences from their factual context when they judged the book to be a forgery. They also show that these scholars do not know or at least have not commented upon the latest research which supports the authenticity of Volkov's book.

—*Vesa Sirén, Helsingin Sanomat (Finland); transl. by Markus Lång*

Other contenders [as probably the most significant strictly classical music book to have surfaced in this country all year] include *Shostakovich Reconsidered* by Allan B. Ho and Dmitry Feofanov: a polemical book that sets out to prove the validity of the *Testimony*-line on Shostakovich. In other words it marshals the arguments for Shostakovich not being a Soviet lackey but a secret dissident whose music censures rather than celebrates the regime he was obliged to serve. In doing so it sells a message that most of us have already bought, although the sell is certainly persuasive for any who haven't.
—*Michael White, The Independent*

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INDEX

- Abraham, Gerald, 189n, 200–1
 academic integrity, viii–xi, 206–18, 268
 Adams, John, 188n
 Death of Klinghoffer, 195n
 Aitken, Alexander, 267
 Akhmatova, Anna Andreyevna, 38n, 97–98, 250n
 Akopian, Lev Oganessovich (see Hakobian)
 Aksyuk (editor), 89
 Alkan, Charles-Valentin, xv
 Alyab'yev, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, 127
 Quartet No. 3, 127
 Waltz, 127
 Anderson, Martin, 2n
 Andreyev, Andrey Andreyevich, 125n
 Anhava, Martti, 40n
 anti-Semitism, 166–76, 187, 193, 196, 239
 Apostolov, Pavel Ivanovich, 140n, 142n
 death date, 140–44
 Aragon, Louis, 114n
 Aranovsky, Mark Genrikovich, 6, 135n
 Ardov, Michael, vii, 36, 98, 126
 Arnshtam, Leo Oskarovich, 52, 162–65, 210, 218
 Arzumanov, Vasily, 182
 Asafiev, Boris Vladimirovich, 42, 66, 95–96, 98–100, 242, 244n, 245
 Ashkenazi, A. A., 135n
 Ashkenazy, Vladimir Davidovich, 11, 20n, 179, 187, 229, 264, 272–76
 Ashrafi, Mukhtar Ashrafovich, 100-1
 Atov'myan, Levon Tadevosovich, 104
 Azancheyev (pseudonym for Matvey Stepanovich Pavlov), 117n
 Babasian, Edward, 13n
 Bach, Johann Sebastian, 90, 124n, 127n, 257
 Fugues, 90
 Badarzewska-Branowska, Tekla, 158
 The Maiden's Prayer, 158n
 Bagrenin, Konstantin, 135n
 Bailey, Paul, 273
 Bakhtin, Vladimir Solomonovich, 154
 Balakirev, Mily Alekseyevich, 201
 Balanchine, George, 185
 Balanchivadze, Andrey Melitonovich, 10n
 Balasanyan, Sergey Art'yomyevich, 28n
 'Ballet Falsehood' (*Pravda* article, February 1936), 10n
 Balzac, Honoré de, 212, 217
 'Bard [Shostakovich] Festival', 4, 36n, 211n
 Barshai, Rudolf Borisovich, 11, 12n, 33, 59n, 61n, 122, 140, 144, 191, 217, 264
 Bartlett, Rosamund, 102–3, 158
 Basner, Elena Veniaminovna, 31–34, 217
 Basner, Veniamin Yefimovich, 31–34, 127n, 172n, 217
 Bazilli, Nikolai, 136n
 'Bedbug' (attack on *Testimony* and Volkov in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, 14 November 1979), 19, 35
 Beethoven, Ludwig van, 36n, 48, 194, 205
 Die Grosse Fuge, 79n, 267
 Piano Sonatas—
 No. 23, 91
 No. 29, 91
 No. 32, 91
 Symphony No. 3, 193
 Symphony No. 9, 119, 227n
 Belov, Gennady Grigoryevich, 52
 Belsky, Igor' Dmitriyevich, 122
 Bench, Robert E. (of Harper and Row), 224
 Benkendorff, Aleksandr Kristoforovich, 250
 Bennett, John, 112n
 Berg, Alban, 117–18, 257
 Wozzeck, 117–18, 257
 Beriya, Lavrenty Pavlovich, 108n
 Berlinguer, Enrico, 46
 Berlinsky, Valentin, 191n
 Berlioz, Hector, 188n, 193
 Requiem, 15n
 Symphonie fantastique, 193
 Bernstein, Leonard, 192n
 Bernstein, Tamara, 3-4, 54n, 179
 Beskin, Izrail Solomonovich, 167n
 Bird, Robert, 153n
 Blois, Louis, 77n, 80n, 120n, 175, 190n, 209
 'Bloody Sunday' (1905), 121n
 Bobykina, Irina, vii
 Bogdanov-Berezovsky, Valerian Mikhailovich, 187
 Bogdanova, Alla Vladimirovna, 32
 Borodin, Aleksandr Porfir'yevich, 64, 201, 245

- Borodin Quartet, 12n, 45
- Borisovsky, Vadim Vasilyevich, 29n, 143–44
- Borshchagovski, Aleksandr, 174n
- Boston Symphony, 195n
- Botstein, Leon, 211n
- Bouij, Christer, 57, 105n, 221
- Bouis, Antonina W., 58, 66n, 67, 75, 83–84, 158, 218, 227, 230, 232n, 241–42n, 251, 263
- Braga, Gaetano, 158, 240
Serenata ('Angel's Serenade'), 158, 240
- Brahms, Johannes, 231
Symphony No. 2, 231
- Braun, Edward, 108n
- Braun, Joachim, 169–70, 171–72n, 174n
- Briggs, Anthony, 273
- Brodsky, Joseph, 184–85, 197
- Broido, Abram Noevich, 167n
- Brown, Malcolm Hamrick, xiv
errors, 9–10, 31n, 263
selective scholarship, vi, 7–8, 10–20, 21n, 29–30, 35–36, 39, 95–96, 129, 133, 163–65, 176, 195–96n, 209–10, 211n, 259–63, 268–69
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- Brown, Warwick, 152n
- Brumel', Valery Nikolayevich, 153
- Bulgakov, Mikhail Afanasiyevich, 234
- Bunin, Revol' Samuilovich, 135
- Burkett, Bill, 56
- Bush, George W., 56
- Bychkov, Semyon, 264
- Cairns, David, 188n
- copyright, ix, 22n, 37n, 50, 98–99, 104, 109, 153n, 194–95, 208n, 256n, 259–60
- Chekhov, Anton Pavlovich, 40n, 92, 102–3, 118, 158, 227n, 239n
Black Monk, 102–3, 158
Rothschild's Violin, 40n
Three Sisters, 158
- Chopin, Frédéric, 115n
Chronicle of Current Events, 45–47
- Chubar', Vlas Yakovlevich, 125n
- Chukovsky, Yevgeny Borisovich (DDS's son-in-law; husband of Galina), 121n
- Chulaki, Mikhail Ivanovich, 106
- Chyorny, Sasha (pseudonym for Aleksandr Mikhailovich Glikberg), 245–46
- CIA (Central Intelligence Agency), 58
- Ciment, Michel, 152n
- Clarke, Raymond, xiii, 20n, 102, 146, 159, 222n
- Columbia University, 181–83, 201n, 222
- Conquest, Robert, 171n, 272–73
- Cortot, Alfred, 256
- Craft, Robert, 188n, 205
- Cui, César Antonovich, 201
- Danilkin, Lev, 184
- Dante Alighieri, 121n
- Debussy, Claude, 131–32
Pelléas et Mélisande, 131–32
- Denisov, Edison Vasilyevich, 143–44
- Derman, Abram, 102
- Diaghilev [Diagilev], Sergey Pavlovich, 110, 131–32, 188n
- Digonskaya, Ol'ga, 120
- Dobrokhotov, Boris, 127
- Dostoyevsky, Fyodor Mikhailovich, 257
- Dovzhenko, Aleksandr Petrovich, 234n
- Drubachevskaya, Galina, 25, 45, 58n, 77, 210, 217, 261, 269–70
- Dubelt, Leonti Vasilyevich, 250
- Dubinets, Elena, 205n
- Dubinsky, Rostislav Davidovich, 11, 12n, 26n, 45, 77, 159n, 217
- Dunkel, Alexander, 151
- Dvornichenko, Oksana, 128n, 211n
- Dyachkova, L. S., 89
- Dyer, David, 273
- Dzhabayev, Dzhabul (akyn; Soviet hoax uncovered by DDS), 227n
- Eckermann, Johann Peter, 13n, 30n
Economist, 274
- Eisenstein, Sergey Mikhailovich, 103, 171n, 227n, 234
Alexander Nevsky, 14n
Ivan the Terrible, 103
Lenin in October, 103n, 234
- El-Registan, Gabriel, 156
- Emerson, Caryl, 3n, 10
- Englund, Einar, 71n
- Fadeyev, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, 130

- Fairclough, Pauline, vii, 4, 8n, 9–10, 56n, 148n, 156n, 197
- Fanning, David, vii, ix, 2, 4, 8n, 19, 21n, 32, 37n, 112, 149, 176–77, 179, 195, 198, 261, 268–71, 274
- Fay, Laurel E., vi–vii, ix, xin, xiv, 2–4, 5n, 9–10, 15, 19, 20–21n, 28n, 44, 48–49, 52n, 54, 56n, 75n, 77n, 79–80, 89, 97n, 99–100, 102, 118n, 161, 162n, 176, 183, 184n, 186, 188n, 189, 190n, 195–96, 198, 204, 205n, 206, 219, 229, 259–61, 269–70, 275–77
- description of DDS as a ‘wuss’, ix, 54
- selective scholarship (‘Don’t Ask/Don’t Tell, Don’t Seek/Don’t Find’), vi–vii, 5–8, 11n, 27–28, 29n, 30–34, 56–58, 60–67, 72–74, 76–83, 85–93, 96, 104–5, 109, 121–22, 136, 138–51, 155, 161, 163–76, 196n, 206–18, 262–69
- ‘Shostakovich versus Volkov: Whose *Testimony?*’, vi, 30, 183, 229
- Fedorov, G., 118
- Felt, W. Mark, 161n
- Feofanov, Dmitry Nikolayevich, xiv–xv, 3, 5n, 20n, 22–23, 24n, 32, 79, 84n, 89n, 197, 200n, 205n, 209, 229, 261, 269n, 272–77
- as a student of John W. Hill, 197
- as the lawyer of Volkov, 197
- Fialkovsky, Vitaly, 214n
- Fiddler on the Roof* (film), 151, 161
- Fisk, Josiah, 7, 262
- Fitz-Gerald, Mark, 120n
- Fleishman [Fleyshman], Veniamin Iosifovich, 39, 40n, 213–15, 265
- Rothschild’s Violin* (opera, completed and orchestrated by DDS), 39, 213–15, 265
- Flier [Fliyer], Yakov Vladimirovich, 113
- Fortunatov, Nikolay M., 102–3
- Frankfurt Book Fair, 226
- Frederiks, Dmitry, 11n
- Freidin, Gregory, 250n
- Frid, Grigory Samuilovich, 142, 144
- Fusso, Susanne, 155n
- Fyodorova, Olga, 121n, 147
- Gachev, Georgy Dmitryevich, 227n
- Gakkel’, Leonid Yevgenyevich, 12
- Gasparov, Boris, xin
- Gauk, Aleksandr Vasilyevich, 10n, 104, 112, 114n
- Gavrilov, Andrei, 59n
- Gavrilov, P., 224
- Gayamova, Zinaida, 28
- Geelhoed, Marc, 196
- Gergiyev, Valery Abisalovich, 59n
- Ghods-Esfahani, Emily, xin
- Gilels, Emil Grigoryevich, 59n, 113, 264
- Ginther, Gerald, 164n
- Ginzburg, Leo Moritsevich, 253–54
- Gittleman, Neal, 144–45, 149
- Glazunov, Aleksandr Konstantinovich, 42–43, 96, 104–5, 231, 233
- Glazunov Quartet, 6n
- Gliasser, Ignaty Albertovich, 83
- Glière, Reinhold Moritsevich, 35
- Glikes, Erwin A. (of Harper and Row), 51n, 58n
- Glikman, Isaak Davidovich, 27–28, 29n, 36, 37n, 39, 48n, 49–50, 101, 103–4, 106, 108, 110, 115–16, 119–21, 124–27, 134n, 140, 144, 147, 150, 185, 192n, 208n, 210–15, 234n, 276
- Glinka, Mikhail Ivanovich, 52
- Ivan Susanin*, 227n
- Ruslan and Lyudmila*, 131
- Glinka Museum of Musical Culture, 120, 156
- Glivenko, Tat’yana Ivanovna, 136n
- letters from Shostakovich, 136n
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 30n
- Gogol, Nikolay Vasilyevich, 65, 201n, 246
- Dead Souls*, 128, 154, 201n
- Inspector General*, 193
- St. Vladimir Third Grade*, 154
- Goldshtein, Isaak, 167–68n
- Golenishchev-Kutuzov, Arseny Arkad’yevich, 201n, 202–4
- Golodny, Mikhail, 156
- Gojowy, Detlef, 189n, 264
- Gortchakova, Galina, 59n
- Granin, Daniil Aleksandrovich, 113
- Greenberg, Robert, 220n
- Grieg, Edvard, xv
- Grigor’yev, Lev Grigor’yevich, 48n, 224
- Grinberg, M., 139n
- Grinberg, Zakhar, 168n
- Groep, Henny van de, 174n
- Gubenko, Nikolay, 59n
- Hässler, Johann, xv

- Hakobian, Levon, 31, 97, 101, 143, 147–48, 180, 219
- Haraguchi, Akira, 79n
- Harkins, William, 182
- Harper and Row (American publisher of *Testimony*), 26, 32n, 51n, 58–61, 64–67, 71–74, 75n, 78, 129, 223–25, 227–30
- Harris, Ann (of Harper and Row), 26, 60, 65n, 74–76, 217, 223, 225, 229
- Haydin, Berkant, xiii
- Heikinheimo, Päivi, 63n
- Heikinheimo, Seppo, xiii, 14, 15n, 18–19, 34n, 58–68, 71–76, 83–88, 92–95, 158, 161n, 210, 217, 225–26, 228–30, 236–37, 247–49, 254–56, 258, 263, 264n
- Hewitt, Ivan, 274
- Hill, John W., 4, 195, 197
- Hindemith, Paul, 90, 257
- Hitler, Adolf, 115, 119, 137, 168n, 199, 265
- Ho, Allan B., xiv–xv, 2, 4, 5n, 20n, 24, 57n, 61, 67, 68n, 72, 89n, 151, 164n, 198, 205, 209, 227, 229, 269n, 272–77
- AMS abstracts, 4, 195, 259–60
- AMS paper, 261–68
- AMS response, 269–71
- Biographical Dictionary of Russian/Soviet Composers* (with Dmitry Feofanov), xv
- Shostakovich Reconsidered* (with Dmitry Feofanov), vi–viii, x, xii, xv, 3n, 8, 11–12n, 13–14, 19, 20n, 21, 29, 31n, 33, 35, 39, 41–42, 54n, 57n, 61, 67, 77, 79–80, 82, 85, 89, 95–97, 105, 111, 115, 124n, 126–27, 129, 134, 137n, 138, 151, 155, 161, 164, 166, 169, 176–77, 180–81, 185–87, 193, 196n, 198, 204, 209, 218–19, 229, 261n, 268
- critical reception, vii, ix, 2–5, 19, 20–21n, 27n, 270, 272–77
- House of Creativity in Ruza, 21, 27–28, 48
- Hulme, Derek C., 81n, 156, 276
- Hunter, Ian, 267
- Huovinen, Pentti, 226n, 228, 231n
- Hurok, Sol, 96
- Hvorostovsky, Dmitri, 59n
- Ilizarov, Dr. Gavriil Abramovich, 21, 27, 153
- Ionin, Georgy, 154
- Ivry, Benjamin, 11–12n
- Izbitser, Alexander, 210n, 212, 215
- Jansons, Mariss, 264
- Johnson, Dr. Samuel, 205
- Johnson, Stephen, 268, 274
- Jung, Hans, 32
- Kabalevsky, Dmitry Borisovich, 105–7, 195n
- Kaganovich, Lazar Moiseyevich, 125n, 167n
- Kaganovich, Yulia, 167n
- Kalinin, Mikhail, 125n
- Kancheli, Giya Aleksandrovich, 185, 264
- Kara-Murza, Sergey, 39n
- Karamzin, Nikolay Mikhailovich, 184
- Karayev, Faradzh Karayevich, 34
- Karayev, Kara Abul'faz ogly, 33–34
- Karlinsky, Simon, 78, 107
- Kartsov, N., 40, 223
- Keldysh, Georgy (Yury) Vsevolodovich, 96n, 142n, 203, 204n
- Kerpan, Michael, 174, 207n
- KGB (*Komitet gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti* [Committee on State Security]; see also Sitnikov), 30, 35, 41, 46–47, 53, 136n, 144n, 171n, 207n, 222, 270–71
- Khachaturian, Aram Ilyich, 106n, 134n, 155–57, 186n
- Khachaturian, Karen Surenovich, 33–34, 45, 217
- Khanayev, Nikandr, 113
- Kharms, Daniil (pseudonym for Daniil Ivanovich Iuvachev), 238
- Khentova, Sofiya Mikhailovna, 4, 5n, 8n, 10n, 49, 101n, 155, 186, 208n, 215
- Kholodilin, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, 28
- Khrennikov, Tikhon Nikolayevich, 31, 47, 49, 52n, 54, 58, 59n, 116–17, 161n, 172, 204, 207n, 217, 222, 227n
- Into the Storm*, 50n
- Khrushchev, Nikita Sergeyeich, 13n, 147n
- Khubov, Georgy Nikitich, 106–7
- Kirichenko, Aleksey Illarionovich, 193
- Kirilenko, Aleksey Pavlovich, 193
- Kitayenko, Dmitry Georgiyevich, 253
- Kjellberg, Ann, 197
- Klebanov, Dmitry L'vovich, 172n
- Symphony No. 1, 172n
- Klemperer, Otto, 253n
- Klindworth, Karl, xv
- Knipper, Olga Leonardovna (Chekhov's wife), 239n

- Kochetov, Vsevolod Anisimovich, 38
The Yershov Brothers, 38
- Kochnev, Yury, 214n
- Kochurov, Yury, 133
- Koço, Eno, 11n, 149n
- Koltanowski, George, 80–81n
- Kondrashin, Kirill Petrovich, 12, 28n, 140, 143–44, 201, 264
- Koralbel'nikova, Lyudmila, 133
- Korev, Yury Semyonovich, 40, 45, 77, 210, 217, 270
- Kornblyum, Rita, 28n
- Kosman, Joshua, viii
- Kossior, Stanislav, 125n
- Kovnatskaya, Lyudmila Grigoryevna, 10, 187, 205n
- Kosygin, Aleksey Nikolayevich, 153n
- Kozinski, Judge Alex, 272
- Kozintsev, Grigory Mikhailovich, 130n, 153
- Krainev, Vladimir Vsevolodovich, xii, 45, 217
- Kravetz, Nelly, 150, 169n, 173n
- Kremer, Gidon Markusovich, 59n, 264
- Křenek, Ernst, 90
 Piano Concerto No. 1, 90
- Krestova, G., 40, 223
- Krylov, Ivan Andreyevich, 3n, 181n
 'The Cock and Cuckoo', 3n, 181n
- Kubatsky, Viktor Lvovich, 10n
- Kuriliene, Mrs. Gene, 59n
- Kustodiev, Boris Mikhailovich, 231
- Kuznetsov, Anatoly, 45, 89, 217
- Lamm, Pavel Aleksandrovich, 133
- Landsbergis, Vytautas, 59n
- Lång, Markus, xiii, 14n, 58n, 161n, 226n, 230n, 254n, 256n, 277
- Lapin, Viktor, 200n
- Latynina, Alla, 30, 35
- Leach, Robert, 108n
- Lebedinsky, Lev Nikolayevich, 12, 35n, 37, 51, 109–10, 122n, 136n, 145n, 155n, 162–65, 208n, 210, 218, 264, 266
 memoirs, 51, 163
- Lebrecht, Norman, 274
- Léhar, Franz, 136n
The Merry Widow, 136n
- Lehmann, Andreas, 267
- Lemeshev, Sergey Yakovlevich, 113
- Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich, 38, 65, 134–136, 234–35
- Lermontov, Mikhail, 40n
- Lermontov, Mikhail (ship), 211n
- Leskov, Nikolay Semyonovich, 84, 233, 246
- Lesser, Wendy, x–xin, 3n, 37n
- Levi, Erik, 275
- Levitin, Yury Abramovich, 33–34, 164n
- Lill, John, xii
- Lincoln, Mary Todd, 192n
- Lingua Franca*, 4, 22–23, 24n, 196n
- Lipkov, Aleksandr, 152n
- Liszt, Franz, xv, 90–91, 115n, 193
Les Cloches des Genève, 91
Les Préludes, 193
 Piano Sonata in b, 90
- Literaturnaya Gazeta*, 7, 19, 29–30, 35, 38, 102, 128, 228, 263, 269
- Litvinova, Flora Pavlovna (née Yasinovskaya; Mikhail Litvinov's wife), 21–29, 35n, 41, 45, 48, 53, 77, 80, 92, 128, 209–10, 216, 221, 259–61, 266
- Lloyd-Webber, Andrew, 151n
Jesus Christ Superstar, 151n
- Loftus, Elizabeth A., 267
- Loh, Chan Hong, 208n, 276
- Lubotsky, Mark Davidovich, 33, 45, 72–73, 217, 228, 264
- Lukyanova, Natal'ya, 79
- Lur'e, Aron Naumovich, 155
- Luria, Alexander Romanovich, 81
- Lustiger, Arno, 174n
- Lyndon-Gee, Christopher, 272
- Lyubimov, Yury Petrovich, 59n
- MacDonald, Ian, vi–vii, xiii–xiv, 2n, 3n, 4, 5n, 20n, 122n, 136n, 146, 166n, 174n, 178–79, 191–93, 196, 198–99, 200n, 205–7n, 209, 275
The New Shostakovich, vi–vii, xiv, 4, 20n, 122n, 136n, 146, 199, 275
- Maes, Francis, 137n, 201n
- Mahler, Gustav, 219, 257
Das Lied von der Erde, 192n
- Makarov, Yevgeny, 120
- Malko, Nikolay Andreyevich, 133, 138
- Malraux, André, 240
- Maly Theater, Leningrad, 133n
- Mandelstam, Nadezhda Yakovlevna, 114n
- Mandelstam, Osip Emilyevich, 250n
- Mann, Yury, 154

- Mannes College of Music (Shostakovich Session, 15 February 1999), 20n, 44, 75n, 77n, 198, 207n, 229
- Marker, Chris, 112
One Day in the Life of Andrei Arsenevich (film), 112
- Markevitch, Igor, 188n
- Markish, Peretz, 174n
 ‘S. Mikhoels — An Eternal Light at the Bier’, 174–75n
- Marx, Karl, 38, 115, 151
- Mastyukov, V., 186
- Mayakovsky, Vladimir Vladimirovich, 103, 107, 150
- Mazo, Margarita, 122, 191, 205n
- McCarthy, Joseph, 196
- McLellan, Joseph, 276
- McNelly, Peter, 166n
- Medved’ev, Aleksandr Viktorovich, 141, 143–44
- Meir, Golda, 173
- Mellin, Eila, 226n
- Menuhin, Sir Yehudi, 272
- Mercer, Alan (editor of *DSCJ Journal*), 3n, 62n, 215n
- Mésan, Jean, 276
- Metner, Nikolay, xv
- Meyer, Krzysztof, viin, 5n, 79n, 80, 142, 144, 184n
- Meyerhold, Vsevolod Emilyevich, 43–44, 50, 71, 78, 85–89, 93, 108, 137n, 232–34, 238
- Mikhalkov, Sergey, 156
- Mikheyeva (Sollertinskaya), Lyudmila, 134
- Mikhoels, Solomon Mikhailovich, 167n, 168–69, 171–73
 death, 144n, 167n, 168–69, 171–73, 174n
- Mikoyan, Anastas Ivanovich, 125n
- Miller, Edward A. (of Harper and Row), 224–25
- Milstein, Nathan, 185
- Mishra, Michael, vin, vii, xiii, 121n, 150n, 155
- Miroshnikova, Margarita Khristoforovna, 140
- Mitchinson, Paul, 3, 21–25, 29, 77n, 196–97, 209, 211n, 212
- Moguchaya kuchka, 201, 205n
- Molotov, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich, 125n
- Monighetti, Tanya, 143
- Moor, Paul, 276
- Morgan, James, 117–18
- Morgan, Robert P., 189n
- Morrison, Simon, xn, 3, 5–6, 10, 171, 177–78n, 179
- Mosolov, Aleksandr, 29n
- Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus, 111–13, 227n
 Piano Concerto No. 23, 111–13, 227n
- Mravinsky, Yevgeny Aleksandrovich, 102n, 124n
- ‘Muddle Instead of Music’ (*Pravda* editorial, 28 January 1936), 9–10, 106, 163, 177
- Mulgan, Anthony, 200n
- Muradeli, Vano Ilyich, 105–6n, 238
The Great Friendship, 105–6n, 227n, 238
- Musin, Il’ya Aleksandrovich, 33, 63, 217, 264
- Musorgsky, Modest Petrovich, 66, 93–95, 96n, 98, 182, 185, 193, 200–4, 219, 241–43, 244n, 245
Boris Godunov, 65, 66n, 74n, 98, 124n, 136, 189, 202n, 203, 241, 266
Khovanshchina, 243, 245n
Pictures at an Exhibition, 193, 202n
Songs and Dances of Death, 202–3, 242
Sunless, 202
- Mustonen, Olli, 73n
- Muzykal’naya Entsiklopediya*, 142, 144n
- Myaskovsky, Nikolay Yakovlevich, 106n, 114n
- Nakhimovsky, Alice, 207n
- Naiman, Anatoly, 47, 221
- Nazi invasion of Leningrad (see DDS’s Symphony No. 7), 136n, 266
- Nazirova, Elmira Mirza Riza kyzy, 150, 151n, 192n
- Neisser, Ulric, 267
- Nekrasov, Nikolay Alekseyevich, 250
- Nemtsov, Jascha, 117n
- Nesterenko, Yevgeny Yevgen’evich, xii
- Nestyev, Izrail Vladimirovich, 123n
- Neuhaus, Heinrich [Genrikh] Gustavovich, 256
- ‘Neuvazhai-Koryto’, 181, 201, 205
- Nikandrov, Vasily, 65, 136n, 234
- Nikolay I, 116
- Nikolayev, Leonid Vladimirovich, 90–91
- Nikolskaya, Irina Nikolayevna, 11, 162–64, 218

- Nixon, Richard M., 161n
 NKVD (Peoples' Commissariat of Internal Affairs; see also KGB), 108n, 127n, 171n
 Nordgren, Pehr Henrik, 264n
 Viola Concerto No. 2, 264n
 Nosyrev, Mikhail, 117n
 Novosti Press Agency, 45n, 221
 Oborin, Lev Nikolayevich, 11n
 Obukhova, Nadezhda Andreyevna, 113
 Oestreich, James, 179
 Offenbach, Jacques, 127n
 Ogol'tsov, Sergey Invanovich (Deputy Minister MGB), 171n
 Oistrakh, David Fyodorovich, 116n
 Oleynikov, Nikolay Makarovich, 240
 Opostylov (DDS's pseudonym for Apostolov in *Rayok*), 140n
 Ordzhonikidze, Grigory Konstantinovich, 125n
 Orlov, Henry [Genrikh Aleksandrovich], 26, 35, 46n, 47, 51, 58–60, 67, 72–76, 78, 92, 122n, 123–24, 126, 150, 191, 218–23, 225
 allegations of errors in *Testimony*, 129–38, 161, 209, 218
 examination of the *Testimony* typescript, 58–60, 67, 72–76, 78, 92, 218, 225, 229, 263
 Orlov, Vladimir, 176n
 Ostrovsky, Nikolay Aleksandrovich, 141
 Otava (Finnish publisher of *Testimony*), 59–60, 226–28, 230
 Page, Tim, 13n
 Panteleyev, Aleksey, 154, 218
 Papworth, Nigel, 276
 Pasles, Chris, 145n, 146
 Person, D. M., 155
 Petrov, Aleksandr, 254
 Phillips, Anthony, 140
 'Pitiful Forgery' (attack on *Testimony* and Volkov in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, November 1979), 19, 30–31, 33–35, 210–11, 217, 263–64, 269
 Platek, Yakov Moiseyevich, 48n, 224
 Pleak, Richard, 211–12n
 Plutalov, Denis, xiii, 13n, 89n
 Poole, Stephen, 277
 Popov, Gavriil Nikolayevich, 29n, 106n
 'Portrait of Stalin' (in the scherzo of DDS's Symphony No. 10), viii, 144–51, 255
 Postyshev, Pavel Petrovich, 125n
 Preis, Aleksandr Germanovich, 154
 Pritsker, Maya, 207n
 Prokofiev, Sergey Sergeyeovich, viii, xv, 59n, 66n, 104, 106n, 110, 171n, 188n, 232–33
 relationship with DDS, 14, 15n, 129, 232–33, 256n, 276
 Alexander Nevsky, 14–15n
 'Classical' Symphony, 14n
 Ivan the Terrible, 103
 Semyon Kotko, 232
 Violin Sonata in D, 73n
 Violin Concerto No. 2, 188n
 War and Peace, 256n
 Pross-Weerth, Heddy, xiii, 7n, 58–59, 66–71, 75–76, 95, 161n, 210, 218, 225, 227, 229–30, 250n
Psalms of David, 137, 199
 Pushkin, Aleksandr Sergeyeovich, 100, 124n, 130n, 150, 184n, 250
 Mozart and Salieri, 100
 Rabinovich, David Abramovich, 119–20
 Rabinovich, Nikolay, 29n
 Rachmaninoff, Sergey Vasilyevich, xv, 48
 Raikh, Zinaida Nikolayevna (Meyerhold's wife), 108
 Rakhmanova, Marina, 99, 185n
 Rasmussen, Karl Aage, xin
 Rather, Dan, 56n
 Reeser, Eduard, 200n
 Repin, Il'ya Yefimovich, 96n
 Richards, Deborah, xiii
 Richter, Sviatoslav Teofilovich, 12n, 59n, 128, 264
 Riley, John, vii, 149n, 150
 Rimsky-Korsakov, Andrey Nikolayevich, 131
 Rimsky-Korsakov, Nikolay Andreyevich, 65, 127, 201
 My Musical Life, 131–32
 Sadko, 131–32
 Rizhkin, Iosif Yakovlevich, 149
 Roediger, Roddy, 267
 Romm, Mikhail, 28, 234n
 Roseberry, Eric, viiin, 2
 Rosen, Charles, 188n
 Rosner, Eddie (Ady), 117n
 Ross, Alex, 164n, 212
 Rostropovich, Mstislav Leopoldovich, 14–19, 47, 59n, 104n, 162, 228, 273, 275
 Rothstein, Edward, xn, 44–45n, 277

- Rozhdestvensky, Gennady Nikolayevich, 12, 71n, 120n, 226, 254–55n
- Rubin, Vladimir, 117
- Rudakov, Yury (of VAAP), 225
- Russian Institute, Columbia University, 182–83, 222
- Sabinina, Marina Dmitriyevna, 96, 123, 136n, 162, 191
- Sabitov, Nariman Gilyasovich, 28
- Sadovnikov, Yefim, 10n
- Sakharov, Andrey Dmitriyevich, 35, 53, 54n, 108–9, 187
- Saltykov-Shchedrin, Mikhail Yevgrafovich, 201, 246
- Samosud, Samuil Abramovich, 133
- Sanderling, Kurt Ignatyevich, xii–xiii, 145n, 264
- Sartre, Jean-Paul, 114n
- Savenko, Svetlana, 36n, 125, 216n
- Scherchen, Hermann, 253n
- Schnittke, Alfred Garriyevich, 143–44
- Schnitzer, Luda and Jean, 152n
- Schönberger, Elmer, 72–73, 228
- Schoenberg, Arnold, 192n
Verklärte Nacht, 192n
- Schonberg, Harold, 273
- Schumann, Robert, 18
Cello Concerto, 18
- Schwarz, Boris, 30n, 189n, 264
- Serov, Aleksandr Nikolayevich, 184
- Shakespeare, William, 130, 234
Hamlet, 130, 234
- Shand, John, 277
- Shapiro, Il'ya, 43
- Shapiro, Mikhail, 28
- Shass Pollak, 79n
- Shchedrin, Rodion Konstantinovich, 12, 13n, 30, 31n, 33–34, 186, 217, 264, 275
- Shcherbachyov, Vladimir Vladimirovich, 232
Inventions, 232
- Shebalin, Vissarion Yakovlevich, 10n, 106n
- Sheffield, Graham, 122
- Sheinberg, Esti, 4, 174n, 179, 190n
- Shekhter, Boris Semyonovich, 101
- Sherel', Aleksandr, 266
- Shereshevsky, Solomon Veniaminovich, 81
- Shlifsteyn, Semyon, 185n
- Short Soviet Encyclopedia*, 113
- Shostakovich, Dmitry Dmitriyevich
- Aesopian language and hidden meanings, viii, 6, 37n, 38, 96–97n, 115–16, 122–26, 129, 137, 146–47, 149n, 169–70, 174n, 181, 190–93, 199, 204, 218, 251
- articles, correspondence, and speeches, 33, 35, 36n, 50, 92–93, 141, 216n
- confusion with opus numbers and dates, 81
- contradictions, 14, 96, 98–100, 104–5, 129, 134, 259–60, 265–66
- courage/cowardice, ix, 54, 162n, 169, 181n, 200
- criticism of humanists and journalists, 109, 114
- criticism of musicologists, 35, 118, 144, 191
- criticism of other composers and performers, 14, 15n, 99–111, 113–14, 256n
- fear for himself and his family, 115–17
- ideological deficiencies, 114–15
- joining the Communist Party, 36–37, 54n, 117n, 181n, 208n
- language and voice, 10–11, 12n, 13n, 14, 19, 33, 59n, 61n, 97, 101n, 109, 125n, 127–28, 161, 162n, 216n, 217
- letters to Glivenko, 136n
- opposition to anti-Semitism, 166–76, 187, 239
- plans to write his memoirs, 211–12, 215, 217
- 'superior' memory, 79–82, 127, 132, 241, 266–68
- Works —
- Ballet Suite No. 1, 81n
- The Bedbug*, 107
- The Black Monk*, 102–3, 141, 158, 240
- The Bolt*, Op. 27, 177, 178n
- Boris Godunov* (reorchestration of Musorgsky's opera), Op. 58, 65, 66n, 98, 136, 189, 266
- Cello Concerto No. 1, Op. 107, 104n, 126
- Children's Notebook*, Op. 69, 81n
- The Fall of Berlin*, Op. 82, 148–50
- Four Monologues on Texts of Pushkin*, Op. 91, 150
- Four Romances on Texts of Pushkin*, Op. 46, 150n

- From Jewish Folk Poetry*, Op. 79, viii, 54, 166–76, 188n, 196n, 209, 275
- Funeral March in Memory of the Victims of the Revolution*, 139
- The Gamblers*, 81n, 120
- Hymn of the SSSR* (with Aram Khachaturian), 156–57
- Jazz Suite No. 1*, 81n
- Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District*, Op. 29, and *Katerina Izmailova*, Op. 114, 9, 10n, 37n, 47, 55, 84, 92–93, 106, 118, 126, 178, 179n, 181n, 256
- Love and Hatred*, Op. 38, 81n
- The Man with a Gun*, Op. 53, 81n
- Merry March*, 81n
- Native Leningrad*, Op. 63, 81n
- New Babylon*, Op. 18, 81n, 178
- The Nose*, Op. 15, 65, 85n, 117–18, 133, 154n, 177–78
- October*, Op. 131, 81n
- Piano Concerto No. 1, Op. 35, 14n, 96n
- Piano Quintet, Op. 57, 14n
- Piano Sonata No. 1, Op. 12, 115
- Piano Sonata No. 2, Op. 61, 81n
- Piano Trio No. 2, Op. 67, 126, 172n
- Preludes, Op. 34, 257
- Preludes and Fugues, Op. 87, 81n, 150
- Quartets, vin
- No. 2, Op. 68, 81n
- No. 3, Op. 73, 191n
- No. 4, Op. 83, 172n
- No. 5, Op. 92, 147
- No. 8, Op. 110, 37, 54n, 78, 96n, 126, 129, 149, 181n, 184–85, 192, 199n, 218, 257
- No. 9, Op. 117, 199n
- No. 10, Op. 118, 199n
- No. 13, Op. 138, 143
- No. 14, Op. 142, 48
- No. 15, Op. 144, 48
- [*Antiformalist*] *Rayok*, 13n, 51, 54, 101n, 140n, 164
- Rothschild's Violin* (see Fleishman)
- Satires* [Pictures of the Past], Op. 109, 120, 171n
- Six Verses of Marina Tsvetayeva*, Op. 143, 48
- Sofya Perovskaya*, Op. 132, 81n
- Song of the Forests*, Op. 81, 81n, 121, 257
- 'Song about the Red Army' (with Aram Khachaturian), 155n, 156
- Songs and Dances of Death* (reorchestration of Musorgsky's work), 242
- Suite on Texts of Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Op. 145, 48, 120, 121n
- Symphonies, vin, 27, 59, 78n, 149n
- No. 1, Op. 10, 99, 126, 257
- No. 2, Op. 14, 115, 138–39
- No. 4, Op. 43, 4, 9–10, 66n, 163, 120, 227n, 256–57
- No. 5, Op. 47, 11n, 66n, 123n, 129–30, 149, 187, 192–93, 200n, 238, 257
- No. 6, Op. 54, 81n
- No. 7 ('Leningrad'), Op. 60, viii, 14n, 46, 62n, 96n, 111, 127n, 134–38, 149n, 187, 191n, 198–99, 218, 227n, 251, 265–66
- No. 8, Op. 65, 13n, 102n, 126, 159–60, 187, 227n
- No. 9, Op. 70, viii, 104, 119–20, 187, 227–28n
- No. 10, Op. 93, viii, 13n, 62n, 144–51, 192n, 255, 257
- No. 11 ('The Year 1905'), Op. 103, viii, 66n, 120–24, 126, 134, 190–92, 209
- No. 12, Op. 112, 139, 175
- No. 13 ('Babi Yar'), Op. 113, 40, 125n, 137, 148n, 173
- No. 14, Op. 135, 27–29, 140–44, 148, 257
- No. 15, Op. 141, 28, 48
- Symphony Fragment of 1945, 120
- Ten Poems on Texts by Revolutionary Poets*, Op. 88, 120
- Ten Russian Folksongs*, 81n
- Three Pieces for Orchestra*, 81n
- Two Romances on Texts of Lermontov*, Op. 84, 81n
- The Unforgettable Year 1919*, Op. 89, 81n
- Viola Sonata, Op. 147, 149
- Violin Concerto No. 1, Op. 77, 81n, 124n, 147, 172n, 257
- Violin Concerto No. 2, Op. 129, 28n
- Zoya*, Op. 64, 81n

- Shostakovich, Galina Dmitriyevna (DDS's daughter; later Chukovsky's wife), vii, 1, 7, 33, 36, 37n, 49–50, 51–52n, 81n, 97, 109, 114, 126, 127–28n, 137n, 151n, 186, 208n, 217, 224, 251, 259–60, 262
opinions of *Testimony* and Volkov, 1, 33, 251
- Shostakovich, Irina Antonovna (née Supinskaya; DDS's third wife), 5n, 27, 34–35, 37, 39n, 51–52n, 54n, 108, 114n, 121, 147n, 151, 164, 186, 208n, 210–12, 217
involvement in *Testimony*, 41–42, 44, 57, 221
opinions of *Testimony*, 13, 19, 33, 39–55, 56n, 57–58, 77, 161, 163–64, 209–10, 222–24
- Shostakovich, Mariya Dmitriyevna (DDS's older sister), 99n, 105, 139n
- Shostakovich, Maxim Dmitriyevich (DDS's son), vii, ix, 1, 19, 28, 36–37, 52n, 97–98, 105–6, 116, 136–37n, 145–48, 186, 208n, 211, 215–17, 259–60, 266, 273
opinions of *Testimony*, 7, 12n, 14, 21n, 33, 41, 45, 127n, 145, 161, 217, 224, 229, 262
- Shostakovich, Nina Vasil'yevna (née Varzar; DDS's first wife), 27, 164
- Shteynberg, Lev Petrovich, 113–14
- Shteynberg, Maksimilian Oseyevich, 100–1
- Shukman, Harold, 174n
- Shvernik, Nikolay Mikhailovich, 125n
- Silina, Yelena, 214
- Simkin, M. G., 127
- Simon, John, 97n
- Sirén, Vesa, xiii, 2n, 61–63, 277
- Sitnikov, Vasily, 41, 46
- 'Six Soviétiques, Les' (see also V. Basner, K. Karayev, K. Khachaturian, Levitin, Tishchenko, and M. Weinberg), 29–38
- Skans, Per, xiii–xiv, 12–13n, 32n, 34, 37–38n, 48–49n, 59, 61–62, 73n, 122n, 135–36n, 169n, 174n, 225–26, 229, 230n, 253–58
- Skryabin, Aleksandr Nikolayevich, 48
- Slowik, Kenneth, 192n
- Smirnov, Dmitry Nikolayevich, 143–44
- Sofronitsky, Vladimir Vladimirovich, 90
- Sollertinsky, Ivan Ivanovich, 11n, 101n, 134, 242
- Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr Isayevich, 114n, 121n, 153, 184, 187
- Sovetskaya Muzyka*, 39–41, 43, 45, 47, 48n, 50, 78–79, 85–87, 89, 99n, 100, 149, 165, 182, 184, 191n, 207n, 221, 223, 259–61, 270
- Spier, Howard, 174n
- Spivakov, Vladimir Teodorovich, 124n
- Stalin, Iosif Vissarionovich, vi–viii, 1, 4, 7, 13–14n, 38, 45–46, 50n, 52–53, 54n, 62n, 65, 66n, 100, 103, 107n, 108, 110–16, 117n, 119, 121n, 122, 123n, 124, 125n, 127, 136n, 137, 144–51, 155, 163–64, 166–68n, 170, 171–72n, 173, 174n, 179n, 184, 189n, 196, 198–99, 200n, 217, 227n, 238–40, 250–51, 255, 265–66
- Stålné, Björn W., 62n, 253, 255
- Stanchinsky, Aleksey, xv
- Stasov, Vladimir Vasilyevich, 185n, 189n, 193, 201–5
- Stenhammar, Wilhelm, xv
- Stepanova, Irina Vladimirovna, 113, 184n
- Strachan, Iain, 81n
- Stratton, George M., 79n
- Strauss, Richard, 113, 193
Death and Transfiguration, 193
Sinfonia Domestica, 113
- Stravinsky, Igor Fyodorovich, 89, 109–11, 114n, 183, 185, 188n
Dialogues, 110
Le Sacre du printemps, 205
- Subotnik, Rose Rosengard, 181n
- Sultanov, Aleksey, 59n
- Sviridov, Georgy (Yury) Vasil'yevich, 30, 264
- Swayne, Steven, xn
- Tagore, Rabindranath, 238
- Taliban, 195n
- Taneyev, Sergey Ivanovich, 90
Prelude and Fugue in g-sharp, 90
- Tarkovsky, Andrey Arsenyevich, 112, 152–53
Andrey Rublyov (film), 152–53
- Tartakovskaya, Nataliya, 144
- Taruskin, Richard, vi–viii, xn, xi, xiv, 2–4, 8, 10, 19, 20n, 54–55, 56n, 80, 121–22n, 124–25, 126n, 129, 159n, 173, 174n, 181–206, 209–10, 212n, 216, 218–19, 222, 229, 259–61, 268–70, 273, 275–77
and 'tabloid musicology', 185–88, 196

- as ‘America’s most brilliant musicologist’, 181, 191
- as a performer, 194n
- description of DDS as ‘perhaps Soviet Russia’s most loyal musical son’, 176–80
- Tawaststjerna, Erik, 253, 256–58
- Tchaikovsky, Boris Aleksandrovich, 30, 264
- Tchaikovsky, Pyotr Ilyich, xii, 102, 120, 133, 136n
- Symphony No. 6, 102
- Voyevoda*, 133
- Tchivel, Edvard, 13n
- Temirkanov, Yuri Khatuyevich, 12, 13n, 33, 217
- Terteryan, Artur Sergeyeich, 30
- Testimony, the Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich as related to and edited by Solomon Volkov*
- collation of the four principal editions (English, Finnish, German, and Russian), 230–50
- corroboration, xii, 97–128
- DDS’s inscriptions: ‘Chital (Read). D. Shostakovich’, 33, 44, 50, 76, 221, 263
- ‘deep throats’, 51–52, 161–65
- ‘errors’, 129–60
- photographs, 42–43, 186–87
- recyclings, 77–96
- Russian text
- Heikinheimo typescript, xiv, 14, 18–19, 58–76, 83–88, 92–95, 158, 218, 226, 228–50, 253–56, 258
- alterations, 61–76, 92–95, 236–37, 247–49
- facsimile pages, 88, 94, 236–37, 247–49, 258
- Moscow typescript, 56–58, 60–63, 66–68, 71–76, 83, 88n, 92–93, 95, 217, 226, 229–30
- original typescript, 56n, 57–62, 67–68, 72–74, 75n, 92–93, 218, 221, 225, 229
- reasons not published, 14n, 32–33, 45, 53
- supporters, 11–13, 30n, 33, 58–59n, 73, 77, 89, 161–62n, 264
- timeline, 26, 41–47, 57–58, 221–29
- translations, 183
- Czech, 7
- English (American ed.), 30–32, 34, 57–58, 65n, 66, 68, 71–75, 76n, 83–84, 158, 217–18, 223, 226–28, 230–50, 254n, 263–64, 269
- English (British ed.), 66n, 230
- Finnish, xiv, 14n, 34n, 58–59, 61, 66, 68, 71–74, 162n, 223, 225–28, 230–50, 254, 263
- French, 75, 230n
- German, 34, 58–59, 66, 68, 71–76, 95, 223, 225, 227–28, 230–50, 263–64
- Swedish, 254n
- unpublished and omitted passages, 65–66, 234–37; also *cf.* Collation, 230–50
- Theodorakis, Mikis, 34
- Thersites (character in Homer’s *Illiad*, Book 2), 205n
- Tilby, Michael, 212n
- Tishchenko, Boris Ivanovich, 19, 31–34, 40–42, 46, 48n, 49, 54, 169n, 204n, 213, 251
- Symphony No. 3, 49n
- Symphony No. 4, 49n
- Yaroslavna*, 49n
- Tolstoy, Lev Nikoleyevich, 184, 238
- Toporov, Vladimir, 143–44
- Toradze, Aleksandr, 59n
- ‘Tortured by Grievous Bondage’ (prison song), 126, 181n
- Toscanini, Arturo, 111, 129
- Tretyakov, Viktor Viktorovich, 59n
- Troshin, 151
- Tsanava, Lavrenty Fomich, 171n
- Tsuker, Anatoly, 185n
- Tukhachevsky, Mikhail Nikolayevich, 127n, 227n, 238
- Turovsky, Yuli, 141n, 144
- Tyshler, Alexander, 167n
- Tyulin, Yury Nikolayevich, 201n
- Ustvol’skaya, Galina Ivanovna, 30, 135, 136n
- VAAP (the Soviet copyright agency), 32n, 40, 45, 207n, 210, 223–25
- Vainberg, Moisey Samuilovich (see Weinberg)
- Vainkop, Yulian Yakovlevich, 266
- Vaksberg, Arkady, 12, 13n, 166–68n, 174n
- Valentine, Elizabeth, 267
- Vanslov, Viktor Vladimirovich, 135
- Vartanyan, 140

- Vasilenko, Sergey Nikiforovich, 101
Buran, 101
- Vepruk, Aleksandr Moiseyevich, 117n
- Vepruk, Esfir, 117n
- Vijvers, Willem, 201n
- Vishnevskaya, Galina Pavlovna, 15, 18, 66, 242, 244n
- Vladimirov, Yevgeny Nikolayevich, 140
- Volkov, Marianna, xiv, 46, 186
- Volkov, Solomon Moiseyevich, vi, xn, xi–xiv, 5, 7–8, 11, 19, 20–23n, 26–27, 29–33, 59n, 61–62, 65n, 66–67, 72–74, 75n, 77n, 78, 80, 85, 92–93, 95–97, 105–6n, 110, 120, 124, 129, 136–37n, 149n, 153n, 155, 159, 161–65, 166n, 181, 184–85n, 186–87, 189, 191, 197–98, 200n, 201–2, 204–5, 207n, 210–11, 216–18, 221–23, 225, 228–29, 259–70, 272–77
 accused of plagiarism, 77–78, 82–83, 85–89, 259–60, 266–68, 275
 first staging of Fleishman’s *Rothschild’s Violin*, 213–15, 264–65
 other publications, 78, 184, 185n, 197
St. Petersburg: A Cultural History, 161n, 184, 212, 221
Shostakovich and Stalin, vii, 1, 4, 7, 124n, 137–38, 148–49, 184, 251
Young Composers of Leningrad, 21–25, 29, 40–41, 215
 relationship with DDS, 21–22, 39–45, 47, 49, 213, 215, 221
 relationship with Glikman, 210–15
 relationship with Maxim Shostakovich, 1, 7, 13, 186n, 217, 251–52
 relationship with Rostropovich, 14–19
 relationship with Taruskin, 181–88, 216
 response to Irina Shostakovich, 39–55
 response to the ‘Moscow typescript’, 57
- Voroshilov, Kliment Yefremovich, 125n
- Votchal, Boris, 28
- Vovsi-Mikhoels, Natalya Solomonovna (Mikhoel’s daughter and Weinberg’s wife), 167n, 169n
- Vulfius, Pavel, 200n
- Wagner, Richard, 79n, 192n, 227n, 241, 267
Ring des Nibelungen, 79n, 241, 267
- Weil, Irwin, 7n, 12n
- Weinberg, Anna, 34n
- Weinberg, Mieczysław (Mikhoel’s son-in-law; husband of Vovsi-Mikhoels), xiii, 33–34, 117n, 168, 169n, 172–73, 176n
Jewish Songs, Op. 13, 172n
Jewish Songs, Op. 17, 172–73n
The Madonna and the Soldier, 48–49n
The Passenger, 49n
 Piano Trio, Op. 24, 172n
 Sinfonietta, 172–73
- Weinberg, Olga, 34n
- Werner Söderström OY (WSOY; Finnish publisher), 226
- Westphal, Matthew, 198n
- White, Michael, 277
- Wigglesworth, Mark, 63
- Willkie, Wendell, 227n
- Wilson, Diane, 208
- Wilson, Elizabeth, vi–vii, x, 2, 8n, 11n, 21, 27, 29, 35n, 36, 39n, 52n, 79–80, 89n, 104n, 106n, 140, 142, 144, 145n, 150–51n, 155, 164, 169n, 171n, 206, 211, 212n, 216, 261–62, 276
- Woodward, Bob, and Carl Bernstein, 161n
All the President’s Men, 161n
- World Peace Conference (attended by DDS; New York, 1949), 52, 114n, 127n, 227n
- Yakubov, Manashir Abramovich, 2, 10n, 54n, 122, 136, 143–44, 145n, 149, 162, 173, 177
- Yarustovsky, Boris Mikhailovich (mocked by DDS in *Rayok* as Yasrustovsky), 140
- Yasinovskaya, Flora Pavlovna (see Litvinova)
- Yavorsky, Boleslav Leopoldovich, 15n, 98, 113–15, 138
- Yevtushenko, Yevgeny Aleksandrovich, 12, 13n, 107, 137, 191n, 239, 264
 ‘Babi Yar’, 137, 239
 ‘Fears’, 137
- Yudin, Gavriil Yakovlevich, 96n
- Yudina, Mariya Veniaminovna, 89–91, 109, 111–13, 227n, 233
- Yurovsky, Vladimir, 29n
- Zak, Vladimir Ilyich, 13, 34n, 121n
- Zakovsky (see Zanchevsky), 127n
- Zakrevsky (see Zanchevsky), 127n
- Zanchevsky (NKVD investigator; also referred to by DDS as ‘prosecutor ‘N’), 127n
- Zaytzeff, Véronique, xiii

Zhdanov, Andrey Andreyevich, 38, 140,
167n, 171n, 173, 227n, 238
Zhdanov, Yury Andreyevich, 38
'Zhdanov Decree' (1948), 37n, 54n, 105–6n,
125n, 140–41, 170, 173, 227n, 238
Zhitomirsky, Daniil Vladimirovich, 13, 36n,
105–6n, 178, 264
Zhurbin, Alexander, 31n
Zorkaya, Neya Markovna, 153
Zoshchenko, Mikhail Mikhailovich, 43, 44n,
65, 110, 211, 231, 238, 246